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**THE
ANNALS**

*of the American Academy of Political
and Social Science*

**MARCH
1932**



The Modern American Family

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

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Publications. The Academy publishes annually six issues of *THE ANNALS* dealing with the most prominent current social and political problems. Each publication contains from twenty to thirty papers upon the same general subject. The larger number of the papers published are solicited by the Academy; they are serious discussions, not doctrinaire expressions of opinions.

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THE MODERN AMERICAN FAMILY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	v
<i>THE HERITAGE OF THE MODERN FAMILY</i>	
THE EUROPEAN HERITAGE OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY Nathan Miller	1
THE EARLY AMERICAN FAMILY Arthur Wallace Calhoun	7
THE AMERICAN FAMILY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY Willystine Goodsell	13
CONTRASTS AND COMPARISONS FROM PRIMITIVE SOCIETY Margaret Mead	23
<i>THE AMERICAN FAMILY IN TRANSITION</i>	
A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MODERN FAMILY Mildred Parten	29
COURTSHIP PRACTICES AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CHANGE IN AMERICA Niles Carpenter	38
INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND RESULTING TRENDS Louis A. Schwartz	45
BIRTH CONTROL IN HISTORICAL AND CLINICAL PERSPECTIVE Norman E. Himes	49
THE CHILD AS A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY James S. Plant	66
GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WOMEN IN THE FAMILY Viva Boothe	75
FAMILY MEMBERS AS CONSUMERS Robert S. Lynd	86
SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE FAMILY Lawrence K. Frank	94
"IDENTIFICATION" AND THE INCULCATION OF SOCIAL VALUES Malcolm M. Willey	103
<i>EFFORTS AT FAMILY STABILIZATION</i>	
MARRIAGE AND THE LAW Fred S. Hall	110
DIVORCE LEGISLATION J. P. Lichtenberger	116
REMEDIAL AGENCIES DEALING WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY Joanna C. Colcord	124
THE FAMILY SOCIETY AND THE DEPRESSION Paul L. Benjamin	135
GUIDANCE FOR MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE Ralph P. Bridgman	144
THE REORGANIZATION OF HOUSEHOLD WORK Amey E. Watson	165
TECHNIQUES OF MARITAL ADJUSTMENT Clifford Kirkpatrick	178
THE BEREAVED FAMILY Thomas D. Eliot	184
DIVORCE AND READJUSTMENT Ernest R. Mowrer	191
PARENT EDUCATION AND THE COLLEGES Helen Merrell Lynd	197
EDUCATION OF CHILDREN FOR FAMILY LIFE Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg and Benjamin C. Gruenberg	205
PARENT EDUCATION Ernest R. Groves	216
<i>APPENDIX</i>	
REPORT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ACADEMY FOR 1931	223
BOOK DEPARTMENT	227
INDEX TO SUBJECTS	250
INDEX TO NAMES	254

Important Notice

TO MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMY

On April 15th and 16th 1932 the Academy

will hold its

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

At the

BELLEVUE-STRATFORD HOTEL

PHILADELPHIA

This meeting, like other annual meetings for many years past, will be devoted to a discussion of world problems with particular emphasis on the position of the United States in world affairs.

This year the announced topic is:

NATIONAL AND WORLD PLANNING

The six sessions will be devoted each to a different aspect of the subject, as follows: (1) Can Capitalism Plan? (2) Illustrations of Plans; (3) Two Methods of Planning: (a) the Russian; (b) the American; (4) To What Extent Is World Financial Control Possible? (5) Public Works and Unemployment; (6) Guiding the Future of America.

The Annual Meetings of the Academy are widely known because of the prominence and ability of the speakers who participate. Delegates attend from scores of organizations and institutions in the United States and abroad. The proceedings of the meeting appear regularly as the July issue of *THE ANNALS*, sent to all members and available to others who may desire to purchase it separately. This year the subject is of unusual significance in view of world developments.

If you are planning to attend, will you kindly let us know, in order that we may send you a program and card of admittance well in advance of the meeting?

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON
President

FOREWORD

SINCE the first issue of *THE ANNALS* in 1890, many of its volumes have been devoted to topics of the greatest importance in a consideration of the American family. Among these have been several volumes on child labor, and others such as "Race Improvement in the United States," "The Cost of Living," "Housing and Town Planning," "Women in Public Life," "Social Work with Families," "Child Welfare," and "Women in the Modern World." Perhaps the fact that no single number has dealt with the family as a whole may be explained by the emphasis among social scientists on more narrowly specialized investigation, with its corollary belief that such a broad institution as the family could not be discussed adequately in the twenty or thirty brief articles ordinarily included in a volume of *THE ANNALS*. In a sense this is no doubt true, but the special editor who planned the present volume on "The Modern American Family" and secured the papers presented in it believes no apology is needed either for the breadth of the task undertaken or for the countless omissions made necessary by limitations of space.

Our purpose has been to secure summarizing and interpretive contributions which might afford readers a comprehensive view of the historical background of the American family, a descriptive account of its present form and function, and an analysis of the efforts being made to improve and stabilize this basic social institution. Since *THE ANNALS* is a forum for the dissemination of information and opinions of all schools of thought in social science, no editorial modifications other than of style have been made in any of the papers, and each contribution must be considered as an expression of the individual opinion of the author. Nevertheless, we take pride in presenting them all, and believe that a better understanding of family life today may be obtained from a study of the entire volume.

DONALD YOUNG

The articles appearing in THE ANNALS are indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, and the *Industrial Arts Index*.

The European Heritage of the American Family

By NATHAN MILLER

LIKE all migrants, the settlers of America carried with them overseas much of their traditional cultural heritage intact. The new environment naturally incited a fundamental disturbance in the cherished folkways whereby they had formerly ordered their lives, but that dislocation impinged at the first most directly on the pattern of behavior related directly to the arts of winning a livelihood from the soil and the forest. Here, old ways were discarded and old techniques forgotten, for the need was insistent and forthright; but in the sphere of the more derived aspects of the *mores* which cluster about the central kernel of the ways of self-maintenance, one could observe for long an avid retention of the European pattern of sex and family life and religious attitudes. Nature is undeceived and irremediable in fashioning man's reactions to her, but in the more remote and artificial layers of culture, the ancient and tried ways are jealously preserved against attack.

At the time of the arrival of the first immigrants to these shores, the European system of sexual and familial relationships was undergoing a tremendously significant transformation. The obscurantist and ascetic medievalism which had thrown an oblique and unholy light about sex had begun to evaporate and shrivel into desuetude in the face of the germinating powers of the Reformation and the Renaissance.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

In this medieval background which the colonists had not altogether sloughed

off, sex had been regarded with a bizarre and otherworldly frame of mind. Sentimental superstitions had invested woman, especially, with strange and fitful lights. Now she was endowed with supernatural and worshipful adoration, now degraded to a miserable status by the witch delusion. Barbaric usages still prevailed in many parts of Europe. The practices of the *jus primae noctis* and sexual hospitality by feudal dignitaries were in vogue, as well as practices dictated by the overwhelming interest in fertility characteristic of agricultural peoples. The chivalry complex and its sentimental and marital emphases also colored the sex relationship. The ideals of chastity, legitimacy, and monogamy were arising in certain quarters out of the new social stresses created by dynastic ambitions, wars, and nascent economic and commercial strivings; but in the main, woman "remained an unrecorded cipher lost in obscure domestic toil and the bearing and rearing of numerous children." In fifteenth-century England, marriage was still a matter of mercenary calculation, and the Elizabethan housewife was a domestic drudge, but not without great economic functions in the household because of her proficiency in cookery, gardening, care of poultry, dairying, distilling, curing of meat, care of wool and flax, and rearing of children.

The legal position of the medieval woman cast her into total subordination to the husband or father. In ancient Teutonic usage she had no legal existence at all, could be totally disregarded in public life, and was ag-

gregated to the children. She was continually under guardianship of a male, and even in the eighteenth century in England, wife-trading was still the custom. Curiously enough, although her contribution to the family economy was tremendously vital, she was ordinarily held in contempt because of her economic dependence on the man. Marriage thus became an absolute need for the "female," the age of unions being about fifteen or sixteen years and sometimes even earlier. The plight of the spinster, or "old maid," therefore was abysmally hard. Children were greatly desired but were treated brutally. In those households into which a degree of craftsmanship had crept, women and children worked side by side with the men in their guilds, even earning money as part of their marriage portions, or in isolated cases, for their rudimentary education. But as a whole, the patriarchal sway engulfed women and children in a position of utter domestic servitude and anonymous drudgery.

Although in the eyes of the English common law, the wife's personality was thus extinguished under great disabilities and her personal property became that of her husband, there were responsibilities which the man assumed. He had to discharge her debts, and was liable for her torts and misdemeanors and for the education and the support of the children. For almost two centuries, the above also remained, in outline, the position of the wife in American domestic law. The formidable array of female deprivations thus inherited from the regnant European medieval family was ostensibly designed in large measure for the protection of private property and for its control through inheritance by the male. Occasionally, however, an idealistic fervor was thrown about this arrangement in a characteristic fashion

in order to still woman's protest or her periodical grumbling.

The Renaissance movement had produced eddies and influences raising the position of the women who, as in Italy, had gone into intellectual and religious labors. Certain notable literary and classical scholars were produced. But this did not affect the ordinary housewife, who remained in anonymous obscurity as mere drudge and procreator.

The most pronounced and telling blows at the medieval conceptions of sex and family and the hardened institutionalized family came through the unsettling individualism aroused by the Reformation and the rise of commercialism, especially in England. The emergent bourgeois class, drawn from the more enterprising of the peasantry and the nobility, began to grasp the beckoning economic and financial power dislodged by the liberalizing and emancipating movements occasioned in society by the French Revolution. Thus, the moneyed middle-class type, "stern, sober, prudential, industrial," gnawed its way out of the stereotyped class system of feudalism. This class substituted matter-of-fact views for the romantic, marital complex of the Middle Ages—views which came to pervade, ultimately, the folkways of the family also. A prosaic, busy bourgeoisie set its stamp upon society—but not completely—before the movement began for the settlement of the New World. Feudal traditions, for example, were transplanted almost completely in the French seignories, the Spanish *encomiendas*, and the Dutch patroonships as at first set up in America, and less successfully, perhaps, in the English manors. But the more lasting familial pattern stamped into American mores was that brought by the rising, restless, new middle class.

FACTORS INFLUENCING AMERICAN
SETTLERS

The genesis of the New England family lay not only in these roots but also in the Puritan and Calvinistic strains of religious dissent and protestantism. Puritanism has been described as an economic phenomenon, stimulated largely by the novel comforts and comparative luxuries born of growing commercial and industrial success. The general gospel of frugality and restraint was appropriate to a class without means trying to accumulate capital. This emphasis on restraint, carried over to America by the Pilgrims, came to include a ban on levity and severe restrictions upon freedom of sexual conduct. The Calvinism which ran through many other migrant groups—the Dutch Reformed, the Huguenots, and the Scotch-Irish—looked upon marriage as a “vent to passion,” and combined paternal sternness with strict subjection of wife and children.

The Protestant movement as a general force, however, had militated against the coercive, repressive, and ascetic control by the church of sexual and familial relations. This can be easily understood, because the Reformation exercised a general solvent, liberalizing, and emancipating influence upon the medieval culture patterns of Europe. Luther, for instance, in reaction to orthodox doctrine, glorified marriage and attacked celibacy on the ground that marriage was the religious sanctification of basic natural impulses. He even condoned bigamy; and not until the end of the seventeenth century was a religious ceremony considered necessary in order to effect a legal and durable sexual union among many Protestant groups. Pervasive laxity and rather disorderly sex life was bred of the revolutionary political

and social ferment of the era, and one must bear this in mind, as well as the more stringent *mores* of the Puritan and Catholic settlers, as constituting a part of the cultural heritage of the colonists.

Another effective strain toward breaking down the irrefragable and custom-hardened feudal marriage was also of an economic nature. The personality of the bourgeois trader was no longer shackled to land and dues as the roots of its power and social prestige; evidences and sources of wealth lay rather in a more transient and extensible form—in capital, finance, exports, and the like. Ancestral purity and noble heritage counted for less than did the accumulation of the profits of trade, which meant unhindered movements and more cosmopolitan contacts. At least, the internal family bonds were often so decisively weakened that emigration across seas to America led very easily to an entire severance and shedding of family ties in this utterly new environment. The American frontier was not the best place to cherish legitimacy or to trace genealogical trees.)

To accentuate this unsettling, disorganizing strain in sex relations, America of course proved to be fertile ground for radical experiments in novel types of family ways.) The extravagance of religious sectaries which could not be brooked naturally in the tradition-ridden and controlled communities abroad found an attractive haven and tolerance in the wilderness of a new land. Often these experimental forms of family life, which were of various degrees of communistic fervor, were associated with Utopian experiments like the *Oneida* community in New York, or *Brook Farm* and *New Harmony*. Unconventional marriage practices flourished here and there; dissenters expanded and ex-

perimented, as witness the extreme informality of the Quaker marriages.

RACE AMALGAMATION

As touching off and aggravating the unsettling disturbances of the family heritage in the New World, one might include the evangelizing and missionary fervor of the French and Spanish immigrants. Universal acceptance of Christianity, in the eyes of the priests and fathers of New France and New Spain, meant a sincere attempt at race amalgamation with the Indians of America. We thus find continuous intermarriages of the Spaniards with the natives in Mexico and other parts of their North American colonies, as well as in South America. The French and the Spanish took Indian women openly as well as clandestinely as their wives and heads of their households, in view of the fact that the religious tolerance of the Catholic Church prevented growth of race prejudice.

The Huguenots, or French Protestants, who suffered bitter persecution at home, settled beside their Catholic brethren in the New World; but the extent and breadth of the new lands was such that mutual bitterness was measurably reduced. The Huguenots, among whom were included all social grades, including the nobility, brought with them certain social graces and accomplishments which were reflected in the charm and the easy-going nature of their family life.

Family pride, ancestral lineage, aristocratic and endogamous tendencies generally withered away unmistakably in the New World. In the first place, as among the French, immigrant peasants came alone, and wives were only later provided by recruitments from the villages, the shums, and the founding asylums of Northwestern France. These women were in such great demand that they were indis-

criminately handed around without benefit of inquiry into ancestral background. Markets were held on ship-board and the women trundled off to wrest with the great problems of the forests and the lands of their men. The Spanish *conquistadores* were largely of military origin and came mostly unwived, and although opportunity was provided them to bring over their women, they were prone to concubinage and illicit unions with the Indian women. It was notorious that the early Dutch settlers brought with them a high regard for the rights of legitimate wives and children; but the very broad liberality of their sex *mores* also opened the way to an unusual number of continuous illicit relationships with the neighboring Indians. The criminals, the vagrants, and the indentured servants swept into the early English colonies, who came from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Germany, included many girls who entered into proper or improper family status in a rather surreptitious manner. In the South, the importation of black slaves created a remarkably diverse social environment; but even here, clandestine concubinage of Negro women with planters, their sons, and overseers was clearly evidenced by the presence in the first census figures of many mulattoes. Although this condition was sporadic from New England to Texas, it was flagrant and open in the Creole sections of Louisiana. Many masters early recognized their "colored" offspring by manumitting their mulattoes. Contact with these various native peoples was necessarily demoralizing in the sense of creating irregular unions, but it was accentuated by the early lack of women.

It is obviously impossible to account for all the bewildering diversity and complexity of European derivations of the "American family" if such a unity

can be discovered. We may only point to the variable major forms of the traditional culture complex in which family *mores* took their setting abroad. The decisive alteration in the chief source of emigration to the United States which came after the Civil War brought to these shores peoples from the South and East of Europe. Outstanding were the Italians and the Slavs of various origins. The family pattern of these peoples may be best exemplified, perhaps, by that of the Poles. We are enabled to understand their family ways largely because of the remarkable study written by Thomas and Znaniecki of the Polish peasant family at home and in America.

FAMILY PATTERNS OF POLES AND SLAVS

The Polish "family" denoted a larger group, including all the blood and law relatives up to a certain limit, usually the fourth degree. In the narrower sense, the "family" which included the married pair with their children (the "marriage group") was not unknown but was of minor significance beside the former kinship organization. Community solidarity springing from this form was very intense, individual prestige was only an emanation from this group, and the children were entirely subordinated to the parents who represented the familial unity. Among the South Slavs, as among the Croatians and to a lesser degree the Russians, the communal household, or *zadruga* was a familial organization of a similar type, often headed, however, by a woman. Under the peasant economy, these institutions were self-sufficient and land-bound. Often there was likewise a contempt for "money-making," or trade. Religious attitudes were superstitious and pagan at basis, despite complete doctrinal adherence to the Greek Orthodox Church. Priests often

managed the economic affairs of communities, which explains the usual agreement of Polish immigrants in America to have their churches registered as the property of priests rather than that of the congregation. Marriages of children were required, directed, and arranged by the parents.

To a certain degree we discover an economic and social ferment which stimulated emigration in the case of Eastern Europeans in the latter part of the nineteenth century, essentially analogous to that which worked upon the earlier American settlers we have examined from more northerly sections of Europe. In both cases, liberalizing, emancipating disturbance was wrought by the first breaths of industrialization and urbanization which in the case of the Poles caused the breaking through of individuals from the shell of the antique kinship family. Egotism among the Polish women developed with the substitution of money income rather than land as a source of support. Economic motives almost exclusively led to emigration to America of the lowest peasant and city classes, which had been chiefly affected by family disorganization. Emigration by the individual was regarded as undesirable and socially abnormal; but in America, of course, under stress of economic ambition and success, individual sentiment cut across family lines and opposed parental discipline, with a very painful antagonism. Demands for social recognition and new sexual appeals on the part of the Polish emigrant ultimately erased the familiar family formalities. Among the Croatians, also, economic incentives, such as the subdivision of properties and increase of taxation, led to emigration. Shortage of women, as in the case of the earlier type of immigration, caused an unavoidable snapping of the ties to Old World limitations of sex conduct.

The disruption caused by emigration, as among Italians, was not always thoroughgoing, because for long the old ties were retained through correspondence, money shipments, and sporadic returns. Ultimately, however, the volume and the usualness of the American trek consolidated the great ethnic communities of America with the homeland. For many pur-

poses, the American community of recent foreign immigration has now come to be considered an integral part of the home community. Ethnic communities in many sections of this country have taken on such large proportions that it has not been necessary or inevitable that the European family *mores* should altogether disappear in the American "melting pot."

Dr. Nathan Miller is Associate Professor in the Department of Economics of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, and was on the editorial staff of the Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences during 1930 and 1931. He is the author of "The Child in Primitive Society."

The Early American Family

By ARTHUR WALLACE CALHOUN

BECAUSE American settlement was dominated by the rising middle-class interests of Western Europe, the background of our social institutions is distinctly bourgeois. This is the case even in the South, in spite of the fable of aristocratic origins. Consequently the American family has always been tinctured with the careerist spirit. In fact, the traditional individualism ascribed to the people of the United States has been rather familism, for the modern family has been the vehicle of the ambitious middle-class success spirit.)

(That is to say, the American family began as a property institution.) In New England this fact was signalized by making marriage a civil contract and prohibiting clergymen to officiate. If the domination of family relations by mercenary considerations has not been very characteristic of the United States, the fact has been due to the abundance of resources and the consequently smaller importance attached to the possessions of the moment.

PURITAN BACKGROUND

(So far as the spiritual tradition was concerned, the background was Protestant with a strong infusion of Puritanism.) These faiths were of course the spiritual expression of the middle class, and the tone they gave to the family was in keeping with middle-class needs) of frugality and economy at a period when capital was scarce. The strictness of Puritan and Quaker family discipline, and the sobriety, the industry, and the self-denial they imposed on the rising generation were normal expressions of the "pain econ-

omy" appropriate to an "age of deficit." If Puritanism took less hold in the South, it was primarily because the more genial climate softened the rigors of existence. In New England, however, the struggle for survival was so bitter than even the children were taxed to the limit, suffering on the one hand from the asperities of family life produced by the desperateness of the situation, and on the other from severe labor imposed by the exigencies of the case. As the New Englanders gradually got beyond the struggle for mere existence, Puritanism, and with it the rigors of family discipline, waned.

(Thus, the family in the United States has been an institution of climbers, and no amount of sentimental idealization can alter this fundamental fact.) Its quality, however, has not been identical with that of the European bourgeoisie, and for a very good reason—namely, the abundance of resources and of material opportunity in the new continent, as compared with the sparsity of population.) These substantial advantages liberated the spirits of the pioneers and ultimately accounted for what the Old World came to regard as the looseness of American family institutions.)

It took time, however, for the settlers to get their hands in sufficiently to realize the effects of the new environment, and meanwhile the family was extremely useful as an organizing principle—as an economic and social instrument. This was particularly true in so far as the attraction of limitless acreage led people to scatter rapidly instead of remaining clustered in the traditional village and town units.

Yet even in the huddling New England settlements, a man or a woman without family ties was an anomaly. Early New England family policy was as hard on the unattached man as on the isolated woman. Bachelors were almost in the class of suspected criminals. They seldom were allowed to live by themselves or even to choose their places of abode, but had to live wherever the court put them.

This variety of Puritan rigor was doubtless in part a reaction against the loose, easy-going ways of the pre-capitalist village economy with its facilities for communal life and indulgence; but it corresponded also to the new, modern, unsettled situation in which trade and travel turned individuals loose and tended to dissolve morale. It seemed necessary to keep the irresponsible tendencies of the new era under orderly control, and the family was an appropriate agency of this social discipline. Generally speaking, however, the colonial family was subject to oversight and control by Church and State in ways that would seem despotic and offensive to the people of today.

ISOLATION OF PIONEER FAMILIES

New England, however, took the lead in a liberal civil divorce policy, and throughout the rest of the country the scattering of the population tended to put the family on its own as an approximately independent social unit. At least on the frontier, it was not merely a regularization of sex relations and a nursery of the rising generation, but also a complete economic system, a political principality, a school, and a church. American students should take special pains to realize the importance of the fact that the country was settled largely by isolated farm families rather than by the compact village communities so characteristic of

the main course of human history.

Under pioneer conditions, marriage was well-nigh indispensable for men as for women, and the isolation of husband and wife, parents and children in a little world of the family's own had a specific effect on the quality and the tone of life. It magnified the family and intensified relationships and values somewhat as in the days of feudalism in Europe, when the isolation of the noble family from people of its own kind produced the effects so well interpreted by Guizot. If there was not much room in the wilderness for poetry and chivalry, that was because the typical family was under the necessity of doing its own work and was continually overburdened and overborne by the strain.

In the South, however, where the long growing season and the stretches of good land suitable for staple crops facilitated the development of the plantation system on a slave basis, conditions converted the more successful settlers into replicas of the European feudal lords, and the plantation constituted recrudescences of the medieval manor. Thus the South developed a lordly class with an aristocratic spirit, and presently created the fiction that it was an extension of the blue blood of Europe.

The plantation family was similar to the isolated farm family, but it differed in that it was the core of a village community of underlings with alien *mores* that could not be immediately assimilated to English Protestant standard. Consequently there began that long, piteous problem of interracial morality so entirely incapable of solution under the chattel régime, and so lingering in its consequences to later generations.

It might perhaps be said that the plantation constituted the family par excellence—a revival of the old Roman "familia"; but even the ordinary

colonial family was something broader and deeper than the family of today.

Thus, even outside the bounds of the plantation system, the labor of occasional Negro slaves or of white slaves from Europe added to the family proper a unique version of the problem of the hired man and the hired girl. Moreover, there might well be in the household unmarried brothers and sisters of husband or wife, whose life and prospects were pretty much bound up with the fortunes of the family proper. (It was this situation that gave a certain logic to the prohibition of marriage within forbidden degrees.) The peace of the household was doubtless more secure if every one was perfectly sure that on the wife's death there would be no chance of her husband's marrying one of her sisters, and likewise with the wife and her husband's brothers. Now that brothers and sisters of husband and wife have ceased to live under the same roof with the married pair, the old exogamous taboo seems senseless.

COLONIAL CHILDREN

Broadly speaking, kinship and family counted for more when the family was a virtually complete economic system. To be sure, the household might include slaves or hired laborers, or apprentices to whom the patriarch stood in the place of parent; but there was more room than there would be today for relatives near or remote, and there was more room, too, for unlimited numbers of children, who were distinctly economic assets in a rudimentary rural economy, not to speak of their value when they grew large enough to help fight Indians.

Perhaps that fact helps to explain the frequency of remarriage. To be sure, wherever Puritan standards prevailed, the attempt was made, though with dubious success, to confine sex

indulgence to the marital relation; but it can hardly be presumed that Puritanism produced marital asceticism, and the abundant fatherhood of the old worthies was a big factor in wearing out a succession of wives. Mere passion, however, would not have had so stimulating an effect on population if it had not been supplemented by a situation calling for a rapid increase of population and making children an advantage even to the parents themselves.

Colonial children were of course in large measure chattels, inasmuch as no social institution other than the family did much directly for them, so that they were dependent in the main on the ministrations of their parents. Moreover, these parents had a pretty strong tradition as to children's place, and their discipline was often fortified by an ironclad theology that imposed on them the necessity of driving the Devil out of the little ones. Thus, on the whole, the Colonial period was by no means the era of the child; yet parental affection was real enough, and Church and State did something for the child aside from the upholding of parental authority. By 1649 some degree of education was compulsory in every New England colony except Rhode Island. In the South, scattered residence and the aristocratic spirit retarded the planting of schools.

(Regarding the distribution of property among children, we find that the Puritan colonists of New England legally repudiated the feudal principle of male preference and primogeniture, though they granted a double portion to the eldest son in some colonies. This change was in token of the fact that the American family was to be not a feudalistic but a capitalistic institution.) As soon as society ceased to center in military land-holding, the foundation of male primogeniture crumbled.

In America, land was too abundant to become an insigne of nobility. (In the North, the aristocracy was based on commerce and the ownership of increasable commodities rather than of land; society was only incidentally and temporarily military; so there was no need of limiting inheritance to the first-born male.) Before the end of the eighteenth century, primogeniture had been abolished throughout the country.

COLONIAL WOMEN

(Women naturally occupied a subordinate position in the colonial family. They had been subordinate in Europe, and the rigors and the dangers of colonial life made the new country a man's world.) The first permanent English colony started without women at all. Of course, the South ultimately affected a tradition of "chivalry" (which is but a disguise for male superciliousness) but southern chivalry does not date back to the beginnings of the South. It took time for the softening influences of the genial climate and the feudalizing trend of the broad expanse to prevail. Seventeenth-century Virginia was bourgeois rather than knightly. Like their New England compeers, the founders of the Old Dominion were prosaic and practical. The economic interest dominated and left little room for sentiment. Women fared like contemporary English women of the middle class. (Their lot was domestic, commonplace, subordinate.) (In New England, life conditions allowed a type of patriarchalism that found affinity in the Old Testament régime so fruitful in texts for good Puritans, and woman found in matrimony but limited freedom, and her social sphere was narrow.) Although it was a woman that gave the first plot of ground for a free school in Massachusetts, education even in common schools was withheld from girls until

it was found necessary to allow them to attend during the summer (while the boys were busy fishing) in order to hold school moneys.) It was well into the nineteenth century before the New Englanders thought education for girls desirable. When Governor Winthrop's wife lost her mind, her Puritan woman friends attributed the calamity to her desertion of her domestic duties and meddling in man's sphere. Governor Winthrop believed that the young wife of the Governor of Connecticut had gone insane "by occasion of giving herself wholly to reading and writing." Had she "not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her."

To be sure, there was real affection in many cases between Puritan husbands and wives, and New England wives enjoyed large protection from early laws. Moreover, the spirit of self-reliance was, in case of necessity, as quick and steady in women of at least the later Colonial period as in those of today. Advertisements from 1720 to 1800 show that women were teachers, embroiderers, jelly-makers, cooks, wax workers, jappanners, mantua makers, dealers in crockery, musical instruments, hardware, farm products, groceries, drugs, wines, and spirits; and Hawthorne noted one colonial woman that ran a blacksmith shop. Peter Faneuil's account books show dealings with many Boston tradeswomen, some of whom bought thousands of pounds' worth of imported goods in a year. On the list of Salem conspirators against taxation may be found the names of five woman merchants. There even were woman voters in the New England colonies. Women also published newspapers. Most of these took charge on

the death of a husband, a brother, or a son who had been editor. (For nearly a century and a half, however, after the landing of the Pilgrims there were practically no woman wage-earners in New England outside of domestic service.)

The colonial South had notable women that vied with their assertive sisters of the North in the world of affairs. There was no marked difference between North and South in the extent to which women took up independent careers or assumed responsibilities beyond housewifery.

IMMORALITY IN COLONIAL TIMES

Sexual irregularities both before and after marriage gave considerable concern in colonial New England, which was far from measuring up to Puritan ideals. Fornication before marriage was given shameful notoriety. Not even matrimony long previous to the discovery of the transgression was considered complete satisfaction. In Rhode Island, according to Weeden, "the hardest municipal task—beyond early theological differences or proprietors' disputes for lands—was in the control of sexual immorality." Lord Dartmouth, secretary for the colonies, referred to the commonness of illegitimate offspring among the young people of New England as a thing of accepted notoriety. In these North Atlantic colonies, even sodomy was not uncommon, and buggery had to be dealt with.

These manifestations of carnality so alien to the traditional picture of Puritanism demand explanation. Doubtless the bleak barrenness and economic dearth that oppressed the first settlers helped to reduce life to elemental levels. Moreover, where wealth was scant, questions of legitimacy and inheritance were less urgent. Besides, the settlers had brought from England a fund of

coarse sensuality, veneered it might be with modish asceticism, yet certainly demanding to be heard. (The form of sex indulgence that developed may have been due in part to the stern morality that did not allow for a class of recognized prostitutes.) Moreover, the publicity accorded cases of sex errancy was an unwholesome influence that tended to augment the evil by creating a kind of social hysteria. The detailed descriptions of their offenses that adulterers gave in church outwent the wildest flights of modern sensationalism as an enrichment of the service. The various civil penalties imposed cannot have been much more wholesome.

Sexual morality was also at a low ebb in the colonial South, where, very early, laws had to be passed on this point. Indeed there is no reason to suppose that the problem was localized or that there is much ground for idealization of colonial morals. (In particular, the widespread presence of slaves, black and white, was conducive to immorality both among themselves and with free people.) Something of the callousness produced by the institution of slavery is suggested by a formula for slave marriage used by an Andover clergyman, in which the man promised to "perform the part of a husband" as "far as shall be consistent with the relation" sustained as a servant, and to cleave to the woman only, "so long as God in his Providence, shall continue your and her abode in such place (or places) as that you can conveniently come together." Similar words were applied to the woman.

There were plenty of instances of troublous family relations in the colonial period, and of such the state had to take cognizance. In fact, there is no reason for being pessimistic about the modern family as contrasted with its precursors. (If our family life today is

looser and freer, the change is a natural expression of changed economic conditions.)

The significant differences between the colonial family and ours may be summed up by saying that the family in Colonial days was nearer to the authoritarian conditions of the Old World, was bound down by a primitive technique that allowed most of the population but a very low standard of living, gathered up in itself a whole range of economic and social functions

that have since been in process of passing out of the home into the public sphere, and, corresponding to the relative human helplessness of the handicraft era, was more under the spell of supernaturalism than is the family today. From the changes that have taken place in these respects can be traced most of the significant alterations in the status of husband, wife, child, and more distant relative, in the tone of family morale, and in the rôle of the family as a social institution.)

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The American Family in the Nineteenth Century

By WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL

WHEN the nineteenth century dawned upon the new republic of America, the family was a closely knit institution—the unit of society, as, indeed, the family had been since the beginnings of civilization. Father power had not yet been seriously challenged. Both law and public opinion supported the patriarchal family, in which the husband and father was the only “person” recognized by law, and all rights over the property and the persons of wife and children were lodged in him. This concentration of authority in the hands of a single individual unquestionably operated to make of the family a strong and coherent unit, which persisted without fundamental changes for at least half of the nineteenth century, in the midst of profound social innovations.

Yet the knell of the patriarchal family was sounding in the early decades of the new century. Certain social movements and conditions, gaining powerful headway, were sapping the roots of the old unified family life of colonial times. Preëminent among these forces were the spread of democratic ideas from political to social and family life, the rapid development of a new industrial order, the extension of the Western frontier by resolute pioneers, and the slow but continuous decline, after the middle of the century, in the influence of organized religion upon family and personal life.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

At the opening of the century the states of America had by no means emerged from the depressing impoverishment which was the aftermath of the War for Independence, plunging

thousands of middle-class families into penury. Yet the new republic was blessed with an abundance of natural resources that, once discovered and exploited, would lift the level of living conspicuously above that of the countries of the Old World.

Moreover, machine industry was already beginning to supplant the old domestic system by 1816—an economic change destined to transform both industrial and family life. The Frenchman, Michael Chevalier, visiting America in 1834, was deeply impressed by the mushroom growth of the factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts, and speaks of the “giddiness” he felt “at the sight of this extemporaneous . . . pasteboard town. . . .” He writes:

The cotton manufacture alone employs six thousand persons in Lowell; of this number nearly five thousand are young women from seventeen to twenty-four years of age, the daughters of farmers from the different New England states. . . .; they are here remote from their families, and under their own control.

To this French visitor such a separation of girls from parental control was an astounding fact. He comments:

In France, it would be difficult to conceive of a state of things, in which young girls, generally pretty, should be separated from their families, and thrown together, at a distance of fifty or a hundred miles from home, in a town in which their parents could have no person to advise and watch over them.

He adds that the independence accorded to these American girls seems to have had “as yet no bad effects.”¹

¹ Chevalier, Michael, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States*. . . . Trans. from the third Paris edition. Boston: Weeks, Jordan and Co., 1839.

Chevalier's description of the situation in Lowell would have been equally appropriate if applied to other factory towns springing up in New England and later in other sections of the East. Machine industry increasingly operated as a solvent loosening the old dependence of sons and daughters on the father and sending them out at an early age into the world to stand on their own feet and make their own way in the world. Such conditions were bound to implant in youth a sense of personal independence and to undermine father power. Moreover, the increasing employment of women in factories—a practice which was highly favored by some writers, since it released men for the heavier labors of agriculture—was a demonstration of the fact that these women could earn their own living and need no longer be financially dependent on fathers or brothers.

Thus the foundation was laid, in the economic self-sufficiency of some women, for the subsequent freeing of all married women from the legal and proprietary disabilities laid upon them by the domestic codes of the Middle Ages. But this was not all. For the first time, the way was opened for spinsters, widows, and older orphaned children of no means, who by long custom had been received into the families of grudging relatives, to taste the joys of financial independence. Writing in 1855, Margaret Fuller Ossoli comments on the invasion of the trades and even some professions by women. Referring to the prevalent criticism of such women on the ground of their abandonment of the domestic sphere, she writes:

But the most fastidious critic on the departure of Woman from her sphere can scarcely fail to see, at present, that a vast proportion of the sex, if not the better half, do not, *cannot* have this domestic sphere.

Thousands and scores of thousands in this country, no less than in Europe, are obliged to maintain themselves alone. Far greater numbers divide with their husbands the care of earning a support for the family.²

In this statement the reader will readily perceive the revolution that machine industry had effected in family life, even as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Not only did this social change weaken the supports of the patriarchal family and pave the way for the emancipation of women, but it was destined to relieve men from an ancient burden—the care of unmarried and unfortunate female dependents. By the close of the century, public opinion had completely veered around from its age-old belief that dependent women must be supported by their male relatives—fathers, brothers, or uncles—and had accepted the view that self-support for dependent women was respectable if not obligatory.

SPREAD OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS

Hardly less powerful as a solvent of old family customs was the spread of democratic ideas. The theory that all men are created free and equal could hardly be reconciled with the English practices of entail and primogeniture, whereby the family home and land descended to the eldest son, and the younger sons were left to shift for themselves, with such aid as their oldest brother might extend to them. Never firmly intrenched in American soil, these customs were abandoned early in the history of the self-governing states. Virginia led the way by abolishing entail in 1776. To be sure, certain old families, as the Carrolls and the Calverts in Maryland and the Livingstones in New York, sought to found manors and introduce entail to

² *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 219, Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1855.

hold their landed estates intact; but public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of equal division of property among children. Thus it came about, in the words of Calhoun, that the ambitious plans of these families "mouldered with the bodies of their founders."³

The abolition of primogeniture—so striking a fact in the eyes of De Tocqueville and other early European visitors to the United States—put the children of the American family on a plane of equality. At the same time, the more or less equal division of property tended to disperse family estates and, in a measure, to weaken family ties. It can hardly be questioned that the continued existence through generations, if not centuries, of a family homestead and lands has operated as a powerful cement holding families together and nourishing strong family feeling.

Democratic ideas not only tended to make the children of a family equal but they also tended in some degree to bridge the gulf between a father and his children. Although family rule was still autocratic and family discipline severe in many homes, there is a mass of testimony, by both American and foreign writers, to the effect that children were accorded an unusual degree of freedom in the American family and that the relations of father and older sons tended to approach equality. "In a democratic family," says De Tocqueville, writing in the 1830's, "the father exercises no other power than that which is granted to the affection and experience of age; his orders would perhaps be disobeyed, but his advice is for the most part authoritative." Especially was this French observer impressed by the degree of freedom accorded girls. Thus he writes:

Long before an American girl arrives at the marriageable age, her emancipation from maternal control begins: she has scarcely ceased to be a child, when she already thinks for herself, speaks with freedom, and acts on her own impulse.⁴

As with the girl, so with her brother. The ties of filial obedience were relaxed little by little as the American boy approached manhood and began to earn his living. "In America," comments De Tocqueville, "there is, strictly speaking, no adolescence: at the close of boyhood the man appears, and begins to trace out his own path."⁵

SUBORDINATION OF WIVES

But if the old despotic power of a father over his children began to break down under the steady impact of democratic opinions and customs, the same cannot be said of the authority of a husband over his wife. Nothing is more striking to the student of nineteenth-century social history than the rapid spread of democracy together with the thoroughgoing subordination of wives. Prior to the Civil War very few changes had been made in that section of English common law which governed the relations of husbands and wives. Based upon the Scriptural saying that a man shall "cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh," American law, following its English model, denied legal personality to the wife.

Upon this assumption, writes Mansfield in 1845, "depend nearly all the legal rights, duties and disabilities, acquired by marriage." With great temperateness he goes on to name these disabilities. "As a general rule, the husband has an entire right to the person of his wife, and may use gentle means to constrain her liberty."

³ Calhoun, Arthur, *Social History of the American Family*, Vol. II, p. 136, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1919.

⁴ De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. II, p. 241, New York: Century Co., 1898.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Having a right to her person, the husband

has the sole right to the remedies for legal wrongs committed against her person. [His] control over the person of his wife is so complete that he may claim her society altogether, . . . that he may maintain suits for injuries to her person; . . . that she cannot sue alone; that she cannot execute a deed or valid conveyance, without the concurrence of her husband. In most respects she loses the power of personal independence, and altogether that of separate action in legal matters.⁶

Nor is this the whole picture. Mansfield goes on to declare that at marriage the woman

loses the entire personal control over her property as long as the marriage continues. . . . The personal property of the wife, as such, in her own right, such as money, goods, animals and movables of all descriptions, vests at marriage, immediately and absolutely, in the husband. He can dispose of them, as he pleases, and on his death, they go to his representative, as being entirely his property.

Moreover, although the husband does not acquire an absolute title in his wife's lands, he "enters by marriage into possession of his wife's real estate, has the power to manage it, and finally, the entire use and profit of it."⁷

Not only were wives burdened by these legal disabilities for more than two thirds of the nineteenth century, but American public opinion prior to the Civil War held tenaciously to the theory that a married woman should remain immured in the home, devoting herself almost exclusively to the manifold duties of her domestic sphere. "Fathers should be the patriarchal sovereigns, and mothers the queens of their households; . . ." writes Mrs.

Graves in 1841. "The sanctuary of domestic life is to her [the wife] the place of safety as well as the 'post of honour.'"⁸ And these views were well-nigh universal at this time.

De Tocqueville was greatly impressed with the fact that in America "the independence of woman is irrecoverably lost in the bonds of matrimony." The single girl "makes her father's home an abode of freedom and of pleasure; the wife lives in the home of her husband as if it were a cloister." With the usual penetration of this French writer, he ventures the opinion that the restricted life of the American matron has its dual sources in the "religious opinions" and the "trading habits" of a "puritanical people." These motives combine "to require much abrogation on the part of woman, and a constant sacrifice of her pleasures to her duties, which is seldom demanded of her in Europe."⁹

Beyond doubt, democracy created the domestic servant problem which has disturbed the souls of housewives from the early decades of the nineteenth century to the present. The wages given household servants were absurdly low from a modern standpoint, and their hours were long. No wonder young women preferred the freer life and the better pay in the factories. Moreover, the democratic gospel of the equality of all men was bound to make itself felt in the attitudes and the behavior of underpaid household drudges. As early as 1841 the American writer Mrs. Graves laments the exactions of domestic servants and their frequent threats to leave their mistresses—threats which made the housewife "afraid to reprove her menials." The independence and

⁶ Mansfield, Edward, *The Legal Rights, Liabilities and Duties of American Women* . . . , pp. 270-78. Salem: John P. Jewett & Co., 1845.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-283.

⁸ *Woman in America*, pp. 45 and 60, New York: Harper and Bros., 1858.

⁹ De Tocqueville, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 245 (ed. 1898).

the exacting demands of servants were fruitful causes of the addiction of American families to hotels and boarding houses, noted by social writers even before the Civil War. Calhoun quotes the Englishman Burn as declaring in 1865 that "boarding house life is one of the most marked features of the American social system."¹⁰

EXTENSION OF THE WESTERN FRONTIER

No less momentous in its effects upon the family than the beginnings of machine industry and the spread of democracy was the mighty pioneering movement which resulted in extending the Western frontier, first to the Rocky Mountains, then to the Pacific. The thin trickle of western emigration became a powerful current in the thirties and forties, made up not only of young pioneering adventurers but also of older men seeking to establish better homes for themselves in the free and unspoiled West. Probably the exploitation of labor in the industrial East was a potent cause of the western pioneering movement. In course of time these trail-breakers included not alone the unsuccessful or ambitious sons of large American families, but also the immigrants from Ireland, from Germany, and from Scandinavia, who, as soon as they could get together a small pile of savings from factory labor, would strike out for the frontier—the land of hope and opportunity.

Space forbids all but the briefest mention of the difficulties encountered by these hardy spirits in establishing new homes on the virgin prairies and the river bottoms of the wilderness. To the physical hardships of pioneering were added the injustices from which they suffered at the hands of land speculators. Many a poor settler and

his family, after improving their land and accumulating a small sum to pay for it, faced ruin when they were outbid at the public land sales by the agents of grasping land speculators. Not until 1862 did Congress pass the Homestead Bill, which granted 160 acres of free land to every settler who cultivated the soil and built himself a homestead. Even then, land speculation and corruption were not wholly downed. Calhoun quotes Ely as declaring that by such methods, whole communities of hard-working settlers were pauperized.¹¹

This march of millions of men and women to the West could not escape the attention of foreign observers of American life. De Tocqueville wrote of it:

No event can be compared with this continuous removal of the human race, except perhaps those irruptions which caused the fall of the Roman Empire. . . . Then, every newcomer brought with him destruction and death; now, each one brings the elements of prosperity and life.¹²

Many men went alone or in pairs to make their fortunes in the wilderness. Writing in the fifties, Carlier comments on the scarcity of women in the West and of the eager pleas of settlers for wives and homemakers. Likewise, the Englishman Dixon has much to say of the "glut of men," the "brisk demand for wives," and the fact that "the domestic relation is everywhere disturbed."¹³

But there is another side of the picture, where may be seen the loyalty and the courage of the wives of pioneers who left homes of comfort in the East, tramping or riding with their mates

¹⁰ For this whole question see Calhoun, *Op. cit.*, II, 167-170.

¹¹ De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (ed. 1898) pp. 374-75.

¹² *New America*, London: 1867, 3rd ed., Phila.: 1869, pp. 263-268.

¹³ Calhoun, A., *Social History of the American Family*, III, 179.

over the weary miles to the new settlement, helping to put up the first rude shelters, carrying on their household labors under tremendous handicaps, and bearing their children in lonely cabins far from a doctor or even a midwife. Mrs. Trollope, who visited in the frontier state of Ohio in 1827, declares that the wives of American cottagers were "the slaves of the soil." "It is rare," she writes, "to see a woman in this station who has reached the age of thirty, without losing every trace of youth and beauty."¹⁴

Such a tremendous transplantation of people, with its weakening or breaking up of old homes and upbuilding of new, could not fail to have profound effects upon the family institution. Unquestionably, the pioneering movement struck a powerful blow at family solidarity. Households in the East were decimated and weakened by it, losing much of their best blood. Family estates, divided by will among far-scattered children, were sold and dispersed. Often not even the family homestead was left to serve as a gathering place for its members. The "great family," or clan of near relatives, so important in France and other European countries, was reduced to a mere shadow, later destined almost to disappear.

DECLINE OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, religion maintained its powerful hold upon both the personal and the family lives of Americans, and moral standards were still in the shadow of Puritanism. Chevalier, writing in 1834, comments on "the austere reserve of American manners, . . . their rigid habits of life, and . . . the religious severity of life which exists here

by the side of the great multiplicity of sects."¹⁵

The "multiplicity of sects" to which this French visitor refers was, when joined with the current spirit of individualism, to prove another influence working to break up the unity of the family. Husbands, wives, and sometimes even children followed their individual consciences in choosing their church connections. Naturally, such individualism in religious matters tended to impair the ancient spiritual bond of the family and to minimize its religious duties. Yet, even as late as 1855, Schaff writes that "the custom of family devotion" and "the strict observance of the Sabbath" were almost universal in American families.¹⁶

However common such religious observances might have been in the middle of the century, the currents of life and thought were working against their continuance. The spread of enlightenment and tolerance through public education, especially after the Civil War, the gradual, insidious secularization of life, which was one of the outcomes of industrial expansion, the spread of scientific knowledge in the second half of the century, and the undermining of family authority—all operated to weaken the hold of religion on the individual and the household.

THE AMERICAN FAMILY AS SEEN BY FOREIGNERS

The pictures of American marriage and family life as etched by English and French visitors in the first half of the century are revealing to the American student of the family. Very generally it was noted by French writers that in the United States, marriage

¹⁵ *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States*, p. 142. Translated from the 3rd Paris edition, Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co., 1839.

¹⁶ Schaff, Philip, *America*, p. 91, New York: C. Scribner, 1855.

¹⁴ *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, p. 165. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1901. First English edition, 1832.

as not an alliance of families but a union of persons, who were accorded great freedom of choice. Carlier comments with justified disapproval on the fact that parental consent to the marriage of children was not necessary under the common-law ages of fourteen for boys and twelve for girls had been reached.¹⁷

Anglo-Saxon undemonstrativeness on the part of family members is noted by Chevalier, who remarks on the (apparent) fact that "family sentiment is much weaker than it is in Europe." The American tendency to make a sharp demarcation between the spheres of interests of husband and wife, explored by not a few American writers at present, was clearly under way rather early in the century, for Carlier comments on it in the fifties. In his *Marriage in the United States* he says that though an American husband "recognizes the sanctity of the marriage tie" and does not evade his duties, yet "his life is never the confidante of his intimate and real thoughts." Mrs. Graves also discusses the "want of entire community of feeling" between husbands and wives, brought about by the customary sex division of work, and speculates concerning the possibility of bringing spouses nearer together through the medium of common intellectual interests.¹⁸

Another firmly rooted family custom noted by foreign observers, which is being challenged at the present time, is the habit of leaving the education of children wholly to mothers. Writing in the fifties, Carlier states that

the father of the family takes little part in the education of his children—he has not the leisure. As to the mother, her will is easily overcome by theirs—either because she brings but a distracted attention to

the discharge of her duty, or that the independence which her children so readily acquire opposes an invincible obstacle.¹⁹

Probably this French onlooker, accustomed to the restrictive and arbitrary control of children common in his native land, painted too dark a picture of family discipline in the United States. Yet the truth of its broad outlines can hardly be questioned.

Despite the adverse criticisms of the American family scattered rather freely through the writings of visiting Europeans, certain authors write approvingly of the conceptions of marriage and family life which were dominant in the United States. De Tocqueville's tribute is warm and friendly:

There is certainly no country in the world where the tie of marriage is more respected than in America, or where conjugal happiness is more highly or worthily appreciated. . . . [When] the American retires from the turmoil of public life to the bosom of his family, he finds in it the image of order and peace.²⁰

DIVORCE AND WOMAN'S RIGHTS

One of the most conspicuous consequences of democratic ideas and customs in America was the development of a robust individualism. Not confined to men, this spirit clearly expressed itself in the actions of women and led to the growth of divorce as well as to the so-called "woman movement." Most of the states of the American Union revised their laws with respect to divorce after the Revolutionary War, laying down certain specified causes for which divorce would be granted. Also, early in the nineteenth century, authority in divorce cases was very generally transferred from the legislative bodies to the courts. Married women no less than men showed a disposition to seek

¹⁷ Carlier, *Marriage in the United States*, p. 35. American ed., Boston, 1867.

¹⁸ *Woman in America*, pp. 210-212, ed. 1841.

¹⁹ Carlier, *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

²⁰ *Democracy in America* (ed. 1898), I, 389.

relief from an intolerable marriage by legal action.

Carlier criticizes the ease with which marriage may be contracted in the United States and the corresponding ease with which it may be broken. He cites the statement of President Dwight of Yale College, made in 1816, that "in the city of New Haven alone, then quite a village, there had been more than fifty divorces granted in the five preceding years, and more than four hundred in the whole State, during the same time." On the basis of such figures as he could secure from newspapers and other sources, Carlier reckoned that the number of divorces annually granted in the United States in the fifties was three thousand.²¹

In the eyes of this Frenchman, reared in the Catholic tradition, such a situation was startling and deplorable. Yet he comes to the defense of American women by declaring that to their honor, "the majority of the divorces are granted at their request, and not against them." Interestingly, he attributes a large number of divorces to the abandonment of wives by their husbands, who "seek their fortunes in the West, in California, where the thirst for gold alters all that is pure and noble in human nature. . . ." ²²

Within the limits of this article, only the briefest mention can be made of the movement to secure larger rights for women within the domestic circle as well as in the spheres of education and politics. Beginning in the thirties and forties, this effort to free the persons and the property of married women from the absolute control of their husbands, to open to them opportunities for higher education, and to secure for them full political rights as citizens, was led by a small phalanx of strong-minded, strong-hearted women.

Prominent among them was Lucy Stone, who, in May 1855, was married to Henry Blackwell, an extraordinarily liberal-minded man for his generation. The marriage contract in which these two ardent crusaders expressed their protest against the prevailing conception of wedlock is well worth quoting in part:

While we acknowledge our mutual affection, by publicly assuming the sacred relationship of husband and wife, yet, in justice to ourselves and a great principle, we deem it our duty to declare, that this act on our part implies no sanction of, or promise of voluntary obedience to, such of the present laws of marriage as refuse to recognize the wife as an independent rational being, while they confer upon the husband an injurious and unnatural superiority, investing him with legal powers which no honorable man would exercise, and which no man should possess. . . . We believe that personal independence and equal human rights can never be forfeited, except for crime; that marriage should be an equal and permanent partnership, and so recognized by law; that, until it is recognized, married partners should provide against the radical injustice of present laws, by every means in their power.²³

Here speak democracy and the heightened regard for the worth of human personality that is inherent in it at its best.

GROWTH OF WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Despite the ridicule and scorn heaped upon the little company of women who struggled to make of wives free, intelligent human beings, the Woman's Rights movement grew increasingly powerful. It was recruited not alone by women but also by fair-minded men, who were revolted by the injustices made possible by American marriage laws. Quite early in the century, the

²¹ Carlier, *Op. cit.*, pp. 100; 114, 176.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²³ Published in the *New York Tribune* and the *Boston Traveller*, May 4, 1855.

states of the Union responded to a changing public opinion and began to revise their domestic relations laws. Connecticut led the way in 1809 by granting to married women the limited right to make disposal of such of their property by will as their husbands could not legally claim. Prior to the Civil War, at least seven states had followed the lead of Connecticut, and six others had enacted laws according to married women the right to own and manage property by gift or bequest.²⁴

But the more complete emancipation of wives was forced to wait until the decades of expansion and liberalization of thought following upon the Civil War. During this fruitful period, the higher education of women became a reality and served to reinforce the claims of married women to greater freedom. Yet even at the close of the century, the liberation of wives had by no means been fully accomplished. Witness the sharp indictment made by Matilda Gage:

So that even in this year 1892, within eight years of the Twentieth Christian Century, we find the largest proportion of the United States still giving to the husband custody of the wife's person; the exclusive control of the children of the marriage; of the wife's personal and real estate; the absolute right to her labor and all products of her industry. . . . That woman is an individual with the right to her own separate existence, has not yet permeated the thought of church, state or society.²⁵

THE FAMILY AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

After the conflict between North and South had settled the burning issue of slavery, the minds and energies of men were released to grapple with the social

and economic problems of a continent still containing vast areas of territory uncultivated and unpeopled save by Indians. During the three decades following 1865, the conquest of the West was well-nigh completed. As early as the eighties, most of the country's free land had been taken up, and in 1893 the last important tracts for settlement were opened by the Government in the Territory of Oklahoma. Moreover, the conduct of agriculture was revolutionized by the invention of farm machinery, which dispensed with the need for the labor of thousands of men. These men with their families joined the streams of immigrants and village dwellers which were pouring into the cities to swell their rapidly growing populations.

Even more influential in its effects upon the family than the changes in agriculture was the enormous growth of machine industry. Within a decade or two, small towns grew into large ones and large towns into sizable cities, when factories were built in their midst. At the opening of the Civil War, only about 16 per cent of our population lived in cities; in 1900, over 30 per cent was urban. The mechanization of industry, the accumulation of huge amounts of capital in the hands of able and ambitious men, the massing of low-paid factory workers and their families in ugly, unsanitary slums, and above all, the rapid urbanization of American life—these and many other difficult conditions which confront us today were well developed at the close of the century. Out of these conditions have sprung baffling family problems, which were hardly less urgent at the century's end than at present.

The relation of low wages to bad housing and disorganized family living; the successful adjustment of immigrant families to American conditions and standards; the insidious undermining

²⁴ See Wilson, *Legal and Political Status of Women in the United States*, passim, Cedar Rapids: 1912.

²⁵ *Woman, Church and State*, pp. 329. Second edition, New York: The Truth Seeker Co., 1893.

of family life by the thousand-and-one interests, demands, and allurements of great urban centers—these are but a few of the family problems which the nineteenth century passed on to the twentieth. To these should be added the perplexing questions growing out of nineteenth century individualism: how to temper personal freedom with personal responsibility in the parental guidance of children; how to solve the dilemma of the married woman who desires to be not only an emotionally satisfied wife and mother but a continuously developing person; how to increase the satisfactions of family life and decrease its irksome repressions

and selfish demands; how to stem the ever swelling tide of divorce by a more enlightened preparation of men and women for marriage; how to work out a sex ethic that thinking persons can loyally accept as rational and adapted to modern life, thought, and ideals;—these are but a few of the family riddles that are a heritage from a century of revolutionary social change. Family stability and family relationships, unquestioningly accepted as fixed at the opening of the nineteenth century, furnish perhaps the most conspicuous and difficult problems which trouble the souls of men in the twentieth.

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Contrasts and Comparisons from Primitive Society

By MARGARET MEAD

HISTORICALLY, the primitive family has been discussed from the standpoint of survival from hypothetical earlier stages of civilization, or else forms of the family among contemporary primitive peoples have been arranged in a sequence, with the monogamous patrilineal family as the end product. When students have attempted to refute these mythological sequences and plausible but unverified reconstructions of the past, the tendency has been to swing to the other extreme and insist that "the family," by which they mean the group of husband, wife, and minor children, existed everywhere and was in fact the very groundwork and cornerstone of society.

Both of these approaches have neglected the more fruitful comparative approach which seeks to find neither sequence nor *sine qua non*, but instead attempts to arrive at a general understanding of an institution of universal occurrence like the family, by a critical comparative study of its various manifestations in different cultures at different periods of history. Such a method can also serve as a useful corrective of attempts to theorize upon the family's loss of function; for the comparative student will realize that the family has had many and various functions, of varying degrees of social importance, as it has occurred in different types of culture.

ABERRANT FAMILY PATTERNS

When we say that "the family" exists in all known human societies, the definition of "the family" must be considerably modified.) It cannot be taken to mean that type to which I

shall refer as the biological family, i.e., father, mother, and children, but ~~must instead~~ be interpreted as the permanent group which rears the children and gives them status in the community. In most cases, but not in all, both parents play some part in this fostering, status-giving group within which children are born and reared.

The actual social and economic elimination of the father occurs notably among the Nairs of Malabar—a matrilineal group which has succeeded in legally evading all the implications of marriage. When the daughter or daughters of the house are about eleven or twelve years of age, a suitable young bridegroom of appropriate social standing is invited to the house, and a religious marriage is performed but not consummated. At the end of three days, the bride or brides (for several daughters of the house may be successively wedded to the young man) are divorced and the young husband is dismissed with presents and never appears upon the social horizon again. Later, when the daughters are grown, they may have permanent *liaisons* with young Nair men, or with sons of the Namburuti Brahman patrilineal groups, among whom no younger son is allowed to enter into a legal marriage. Although these *liaisons* may be lifelong, the lover is given no status in his wife's household; he has no control over his children, who belong entirely and unconditionally to their mother's group and have no claims over him or his property.

The family, for all practical purposes, among the Nairs, consists of one's

mother's mother and one's mother's mother's brother who is the male economic representative of the household, one's mother, mother's brothers, mother's sisters, mother's sisters' children, and one's brothers and sisters. If any man were to be regarded as socially one's father, it would actually be the man who had been married to and divorced from one's mother years before; for by Brahman law, a woman can enter into only one religious marriage. Here, then, is a family in which one biological parent has been socially eliminated.

The partial elimination of the father from the mother-child group occurs in various parts of Indonesia and Western Melanesia and New Guinea, and seems to be a characteristic development in the type of social system found in that part of the world. In Mentawai, many marriages are not publicly recognized until the children born to a couple are half grown and able to support their father, for a man upon marriage assumes the headship of a household and is ceremonially prohibited from ordinary labor thereafter. Before his sons are old enough to support him, a man lives in his father's household and works for his parents, his sisters, and his sisters' children, the latter having been formally adopted by their maternal grandfather.

For many Mentawai children, therefore, the family consists of maternal grandfather, maternal grandmother, mother, mother's sisters and mother's brothers, own brothers and sisters, and mother's sisters' children. When a man decides to become the head of a household, he marries the mother of his children, adopts his children, and sets up a household over which he will preside until his sons and daughters are nearing middle age and have all begotten children. To this same pattern belong the visiting husbands of Borneo

and Dutch New Guinea, who must surreptitiously creep into their wives' houses at night, and would be overcome with shame were they caught in this clandestine act.

I have cited these extremely aberrant examples to throw into relief the more usual and less bizarre types of social organization. But they serve to illustrate the point that there has been an overemphasis upon the marital relationship as the cornerstone of family organization, for even by withdrawing all social sanction and recognition from the marriage relationship, by outlawing it to midnight visits or clandestine encounters in garden huts, the family, arranged according to a different principle, goes on.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

It will be illuminating, therefore, to investigate what are the relationships upon which the family nucleus is built. These may be listed as the blood relationships—father to son, mother to daughter, father or mother to children of both sexes—and the three contemporaneous relationships which result from these emphases—brother to brother, sister to sister, and brother to sister. Additionally there is the husband and wife relationship, which is not, of course, one of consanguinity except in special cases of endogamy or cross-cousin marriage. This exhausts the relationships flowing from the biological parent-child situation—the situation within which any given society has to work, even though the operation of the social system may be in the direction of the denial or elaboration of any one of these relationships far beyond the borders of its original biological significances.

Such elaboration may take the form of denying the father's rôle as a physical progenitor, as among the Trobrianders or the Karieri (this denial being in

most cases a matter of religious dogma), or it may take the form of minimizing the maternal rôle, as in Rossel Island, or dogmatically denying it altogether, as has been reported for Montenegro. Or putative paternity may often entirely replace all recognition of biological paternity, as among the Todas, where fraternal polyandry was practiced, and one brother only performed the bow and arrow ceremony which made him the social father of children subsequently born to the wife whom he shared with his brothers.

It is more usual for the society to give some recognition, however scant, to each one of the relationships flowing from the parent-child situation. Where all of them are recognized, we have the type of family situation which is described as bilateral.

By emphasizing the children's relationship to the parent of one sex only, there is obtained that type of social structure which is called unilateral, the typical manifestation of which is the clan. The patrilineal clan or gens is the result of the father-son relationship, replaced after the father's death by a brother-to-brother solidarity. Under this system all the women and their children go out of the woman's clan and belong to the clan of the husband, and the children of brothers and of sons of brothers are regarded as equivalent, being in sibling status to one another. Such a patrilineal system is that of the Amazulus, in which a boy's last tie with his mother's people is broken at initiation.

By emphasizing the mother-to-daughter and later sister-to-sister relationships, an analogous situation is reached, of which the pueblo of Zuñi is a good example. Here the houses are owned by women, marriage is matrilineal, and a man's permanent home is in his sister's house—not in the house of his wife, where he is not admitted

into family privacies, at least until his children are grown. In such a society one finds the anomalous situation of a man whose status in his wife's house is entirely dependent upon his relationship, not to her, but to her children.

MODIFICATIONS OF UNILATERAL SYSTEMS

Where the emphasis is upon the relationship of a parent of one sex to the children of both sexes, various forms of modified matriliney and patriliney are found. This condition is found in societies like the Trobriands and Dobu, in which it is not relationship to the mother only, but relationship through the mother to the mother's brother which is the emphasized point. In such societies, it is the relationship of mother's brother to sister's son which becomes the critical social relationship. It is possible to find the opposite condition in a society like Tonga, in which, although nominally patrilineal, the father's sister is the person whom the growing child and youth must honor most.

Such modifications result from the fact that in the Trobriands and Dobu, it is not merely the relationship of mother to daughter, but rather the relationship of mother to children of both sexes, and in Tonga, father to children of both sexes which is stressed. After the death of the parents, among the adult siblings the important and effective relationship is not between siblings of the same sex, as in pure unilateral systems, but between siblings of opposite sex. It is around this latter relationship that many Oceanic systems and many African systems—notably, the Vandau, the Basuto, the Bechuana, the Ashanti, the Ova Herera, and others—are built up.

In any one of these types in which one relationship is emphasized, others are correspondingly neglected; under

pure patriliney the daughter is virtually disinherited and must become absorbed into her husband's clan, although this absorption, at best, is only partial. Under pure matriliney, it is the son who suffers, with his legal home and ceremonial relationships all in his sister's house, and his wife and children and usually his economic activities also in his wife's house. Under the mixed system in which the emphasis is upon the brother-sister relationship, it is the marriage bond that suffers; for the spouse is continually confronted with the strong bond which binds brother to sister, and often with the important economic obligations which they owe each other. So the Trobriand wife sees her husband pile his year's supply of yams in his sister's garden, while her children must be fed from the perhaps inferior supply of yams grown, not by their father, but by their mother's brother. Similarly, in Tonga a woman may have no word in her daughter's marriage; that is a matter for the father's sister to decide. The degree to which the brother-sister tie actually interferes with the marriage relation is also correlated with rules of residence. In a matrilineal society in which the wife goes to live in her husband's village, as in Basima and the Trobriands, some of this friction is removed.

BILATERAL GROUPING

Besides these various elaborations of unilateral descent, there are the types of kinship grouping which we call bilateral, in which both sets of kindred, maternal and paternal, are given equal recognition. With such a catholic recognition of relatives on both sides of the marriage, the possibility of strong kinship allegiance vanishes and there is a tendency for the family to re-form with each new marriage. Such a family type is found among the Eskimo, among some of the Indian

tribes of Central Canada, and among people of North American Protestant stock.

Although the recognition of the marriage bond as the basis of family relationship is the closest approximation to biological facts of mating and parenthood, and is found among many of the simplest peoples, it actually represents a weak family organization when the family is viewed as the economic and social kinship structure which rears and gives status to children; for the biological family, with its pallid recognition of two sets of antagonistic kinship allegiances—to the mother's kin and to the father's kin—is a status-giving group founded upon a relationship which lacks the permanency of that of a blood group. The biological family can be shattered by divorce or death and the child left in an indeterminate position, economically, socially, and affectionally, which is impossible in any society which stresses blood ties at the expense of the marriage tie.

In many discussions of the family, especially in discussions of the origin of the family, it is assumed that the natural protector and provider for a woman and her children is a husband. Actually, such a dependence is far less reliable than is the dependence of a woman upon an own or clan group of clan brothers who stand to her and her children in an inescapable relationship of responsibility.

ANDAMAN AND SAMOAN SYSTEMS

The family may also take different forms not by the emphasis upon one relationship rather than another of those implicit in the parent-child situation, but through various types of generalization of blood relationship. I shall mention only two of these types, from societies of very different degrees

of complexity — the Andamanese and the Samoans.

The social organization of the Andamans is of the simplest; the small horde of some fifty persons forms a loose unit which resides in a common spot and hunts over common territory. There is no clan elaboration of kinship; the most definite usage is that brothers often but not always build their houses side by side. Marriage is monogamous and for life. But the Andamanese have complicated this simple structure by an extended system of adoption. Children are adopted from horde to horde; a child by the time he reaches puberty may have had three or four sets of fathers and mothers, towards all of whom he owes the obligations and claims the privileges of a son. The tenuousness of the bond between children and a pair of parents who may be cut off at any moment by death, is strengthened by doubling and redoubling this bond towards other adoptive parents; the child's social relationships are widened; his power of calling upon elders for aid is increased. The narrow interdependence of the biological family is blurred out into a broader picture.

The Samoan system works not by increasing the number of parents but by increasing the number of children per responsible parent. Samoa is organized into a series of joint households of ten to twenty people. Over each of these households presides the most responsible male of the group. He stands *in loco parentis* to the entire household of children and adults. The presence of many other adults in the household tends to generalize the children's relationship to the adult world; the number of siblings is enormously increased, and the chances of the child's being socially maimed by the death of either biological father or headman is almost nonexistent. His

father is only one of a group of males, and the headman's place is automatically filled by a successor towards whom the child stands in the same relationship of ward.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

If we turn from the forms of the primitive family to its function, we find as wide differences—from the tiny Melanesian family of Dobu, which is a self-contained unit, eating alone and gardening alone, to the communal meals of the men's house of the New Hebrides or the daily feast of all the men in a village in Samoa, who eat together after they have worked on the village plantation. The degree to which the family is a group which provides for common meals, for sleeping quarters, for the acquisition of industrial skills, or for the transmission of charms and religious knowledge, varies from a position of prime importance to a purely negative rôle.

(When modern writers say that the family among us has lost its function, they mean merely that the Western European patriarchal family, which was once a social-economic and industrial unit of a high degree of self-sufficiency, is breaking down—that its disciplinary and educational functions have been taken over by the state and its industrial functions preempted by modern machine production.) But all of these are merely functions of the family in our own immediate history—not inalienable functions of the family in human society.)

(The only function of the family which is, as far as we now know, universal is the status-giving, child-rearing function.) Samoa has enormously increased the size of the family group, and so has generalized and attenuated the attitudes within it; but the fundamental pattern remains. (Modern political theory has suggested the further

generalization of this aspect of the family so that the state would be the unit through which the child received status and was nourished and provided for. Only if this innovation were made in all completeness could the family be said to have lost the one function which defines its existence.

It is worthy of note that were state responsibility for children to be substituted for the present family organization, we would again obtain a type of guarantee for children which the present weak bilateral family group fails to give. In the clan, in any of its modifications, the child's status and subsistence is assured as long as there are members of the clan alive. Under the state, a child would again claim a relationship to a large group of adults—a group too large to be dissipated by a few blows. The child would stand in a status relationship which could not be evaded. Our present narrow definition of adult responsibility towards children as being limited to own or legally adoptive parents has robbed the child of that security which was assured it by all primitive societies which were not primarily organized about the marriage tie.

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A Statistical Analysis of the Modern Family

By MILDRED PARTEN

THERE are two main questions of interest concerning the modern family. First, there is the question of size. How many persons are there in the average family? To what extent is the average family representative of the general family population? What percentage of families contain one member, two members, three members and so on? In short, what is the frequency distribution of various-sized families? The second question relates to the composition or structure of the modern family. In what way are the individuals composing it related to one another by birth or marriage? How many families consist, for example, of men living alone or of women living alone? How many consist of married couples living together without children? Among families having children, what proportion consist of families with only one child, what proportion with several children? These and similar questions may be included under the broad head of composition or structure.

FINDINGS BASED ON NEW HAVEN STUDY

The present study is an attempt to answer these two questions for the modern American family. It is based upon the results of an investigation carried out at New Haven, Connecticut, relating to the year 1920. This investigation, which covered all the families of New Haven, was made by the United States Bureau of the Census and the Yale Institute of Human Relations acting in coöperation. The Federal Census gathers the most extensive collection of family data in the

United States. Until the 1930 Census, however, little of this material had been tabulated or published except in a form which related to individuals and not to family groups.¹ It was therefore necessary to make a special retabulation of the census data for New Haven in terms of family groups.

This New Haven study covers, of course, only a tiny fraction of the total family population of the United States. Nevertheless, the remarkable correspondence which exists between the results it yields and those of two similar investigations in other districts, perhaps warrants us in assuming that such results may have a more general applicability.²

DEFINITIONS OF "FAMILY"

One finds among both past and present sociological and economic writings a bewildering variety of definitions of the term "family." This is quite understandable. For the most part, each writer has been primarily concerned with some special problem, such as the differential fertility of various groups, the relation between the standard of living and the family wage, the inheritance of physical and mental traits, or one of a host of others. He has

¹ See Truesdell, Leon E., "Tabulation of Family Data from the 1930 Census," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 26, pp. 325-330, Sept. 1931.

² The first of these two similar investigations is *Chicago Families: A Study of Unpublished Census Data*, by Day Monroe, Ph.D. Thesis, 377 pp., Dept. of Home Economics and Household Administration, University of Chicago, June 1930. The second is *The Woman Home-Maker in the City. A Study of Statistics Relating to Married Women in the City of Rochester, New York, at the Census of 1920*.

therefore quite naturally defined the term "family" in the way which best suited his purpose, or indeed, in only too many cases, has not bothered to give it any precise definition at all. The lack of a common definition of course prevents comparisons of any value between the results of different writers.

Out of this welter of definitions—some vague and some precise—four main possible definitions emerge. In total, they cover most of the purposes for which a definition might be required, although not all.

The first is that adopted by the United States Bureau of the Census. It includes all persons living together in the same household, and nobody else. Thus relatives of all kinds, friends, lodgers, and servants are all included provided they habitually form part of this residential household group, while children and other relatives living elsewhere are excluded. It will be seen that this definition corresponds much more closely to the popular notion of "economic household" than to the popular notion of "family." It was doubtless adopted by the Bureau because the primary object of the census is to enumerate all persons in the country at a given date, showing where they live, in such a way as to get the correct total population for each district and for the United States as a whole. This definition is clearly useful in dealing with housing and similar problems. It should be remembered, however, in dealing with the census figures, that the Bureau considers "economic" as well as "private" families. Economic families are groups living under the same roof in lodging houses, hotels, labor camps, and institutions. Their inclusion would alter very considerably the (arithmetic) average number of persons per family in cities where there are large institutions.

The second definition embodies the concept of the "natural"—or "biological"—family. It corresponds very closely to the popular meaning of the term. It includes only parents and their offspring, if any. Stepchildren, adopted children, and other relatives are all excluded. On the other hand, all offspring are included regardless of their age, marital condition, or place of residence. They are usually divided into stillborn, living, and dead. This definition is nearly always adopted in fertility studies, for obvious reasons.

The third definition is what may be termed the "natural social" family. It consists of a group of persons who both live together and have a marital or parent-child relationship. All unmarried sons and daughters living at home with either or both parents are included, regardless of whether adopted or stepchildren, or under or over twenty-one years of age. But children not living at home are excluded, and so are other persons living under the same roof. This definition of "family" is employed by Day Monroe in the work already mentioned. She further subdivides such families into unbroken and broken, the latter consisting of men or women with broken marital ties, having one or more children at home.

The fourth definition may be termed the "social" family. It consists of all individuals related to the head of the household and living under a common roof. Relationship may be through blood, marriage, or adoption. Unrelated individuals who are living together, bound only by social or economic ties, and who therefore fall outside this definition, may be deemed to constitute "unrelated" families. When it is desired to allot every individual living in a district to some family within that area, then of course these unrelated families must be included.

This last definition has the advantage of indicating a family unit whose members are bound together in all cases by common residence, and in nearly all cases by ties of kinship and economic interdependence. It is the definition adopted in the New Haven study with which this article deals. It is also the definition of "household" used in the Chicago study.

SIZE OF THE FAMILY

Family size may be considered either from the point of view of a single expression such as an average, or of a

tioned, this average number in Chicago in 1920 was only 3.8. This comparatively low figure arises, of course, from the exclusion of lodgers and relatives other than children. From the fourth definition, this average number is 4 for New Haven and 4.0 for Chicago, for the year 1920.

However, an average of this kind tells us very little. Figures on the prevalence of families of each size are more illuminating, and are given in the following table.

It will be observed that only one fifth of the families of these three cities

TABLE I.—PROPORTION OF FAMILIES CONTAINING SPECIFIED NUMBERS OF MEMBERS

Number of Members	Rochester Households * (Per Cent)	Chicago Households * (Per Cent)	New Haven Families (Per Cent)
Two.....	20.5	23.8	21.6
Three.....	21.7	22.1	21.6
Four.....	20.3	20.2	19.4
Five.....	14.5	14.4	13.7
Six.....	9.7	8.8	9.4
Seven.....	5.8	5.0	6.2
Eight or more.....	7.5	5.7	8.0
Total.....	100	100	99.9

* Figures taken from *Chicago Families*, pp. 331-332.

frequency distribution of families containing specified numbers of members. Whatever the description, the size will vary with the definition of the term "family." The arithmetic mean, for example, may correctly be of several sizes. From the census definition, which it will be remembered includes "economic" families, such as hotels, as well as lodgers and other persons living with the family in the narrower sense, this average number for the United States as a whole was 4.7 in 1900, 4.5 in 1910, and 4.3 in 1920.³ From the third definition, that adopted for "family" in the Chicago study men-

contain the average number of approximately four persons. The family consisting of two or of three persons is slightly more typical than that consisting of four; but, as Day Monroe writes "apparently it is misleading to speak of a family of typical size, since there is so much variation and since among the families investigated, the proportion containing a given number of persons was in no instance as great as on third."⁴ Neither the mean nor the mode gives an adequate description of the family population, as each of these includes only about one fifth of the families covered. The popular conception of the typical family as con-

³ *Fourteenth Census of the United States 1920*, Vol. II, pp. 1265-68.

⁴ Monroe, Day. *Chicago Families*, p. 98.

sisting of husband, wife, and three children should clearly be abandoned, as only 14 per cent contain exactly five, and 60 per cent contain less than five, members.

Let us now turn to the proportion of individuals living in families of various sizes. The following distribution was obtained from the New Haven data.

TABLE II

Number of Members in Family	Percentage of Individuals
1.....	1
2.....	10
3.....	10
4.....	18
5.....	16
6.....	13
7.....	10
8.....	7
9.....	4
10.....	2
11.....	5
12 and more.....	4

This table shows the percentage of the 149,099 individuals of New Haven who belong to families containing specified numbers of members. From it we may conclude that the four-person family contains the greatest proportion

of the aggregate family members. Almost one person in every five belongs to a family of that size. On the other hand, more than 60 per cent of the individuals live in families containing five or more members; so although the proportion of large families in the total population is not especially great, these families contain a great many members.

COMPOSITION OF THE FAMILY

The 36,320 families in New Haven were divided into twelve types. The number of families in each type is shown in Table III.

From these figures, it may be seen that the husband-wife-children family is the most prevalent type, and includes about two fifths of the families of the city. In addition, 15 per cent of the families are composed of husband, wife, children, and relatives. In other words, slightly over half the families of the city contain two parents and their children. The family composed of only a husband and wife constitutes another 15 per cent of the total. This type is composed of couples who never have had children, as well as those whose children have married or left home. The husband-wife-relatives, and

TABLE III

Type of Family	Number of Families	Per Cent of Total Families
Husband and wife.....	5,509	15.2
Husband, wife, and children.....	15,042	41.4
Husband, wife, children, and relatives.....	5,576	15.3
Husband, wife, and relatives.....	2,751	7.6
Man and children.....	258	.7
Woman and children.....	849	2.3
Man, children, and relatives.....	406	1.1
Woman, children, and relatives.....	1,104	3.0
Man or woman and relatives.....	2,802	7.7
Man alone.....	632	1.7
Woman alone.....	1,152	3.2
Unrelated persons.....	239	.6
Total.....	36,320	99.8

the man-or-woman-and-relatives families are next in frequency, each containing about 7 per cent of the total. The other types, such as man-children, man-children-relatives, woman-children, woman-children-relatives, man alone, and woman alone each include less than 5 per cent of the cases. It should be remembered, however, that these statistics refer to the situation of 1920, and a considerable increase in these last groups may be anticipated when the 1930 data are analyzed.

By combining the family types and disregarding the overlapping, we may discover the proportion of families commonly called normal families, and the proportion differing from this assumed norm.

The normal family, which is the so-called "natural-social" type, constitutes four fifths of the total families of the city. Approximately 80 per cent of the individuals of the city live in this kind of group, which consists of a husband and wife, with or without other members such as children, relatives, or lodgers.

The remaining fifth of the families consists of groups in which no marital relation has existed, as well as those in which it has been broken. It is interesting to note that such homes contain women as heads more than twice as often as they contain men as heads (14 per cent as compared to 6 per cent). This may be attributed to a number of factors, among which the greater proportion of widows than of widowers in the population, partly due to the greater tendency for the latter group to remarry, may be a significant element.

Considering next the number of married couples who have no relatives living in the same home, we find that about three fifths of the families are included. This is a noteworthy fact in view of the popular belief that the

family usually contains only parents and children. The findings of the Chicago analysis seem to corroborate those of New Haven in this respect. The proportion of families living alone without outsiders (i.e., relatives and lodgers) forms 69 per cent of the total families studied.⁵

Not only are there relatives in 40 per cent of the New Haven families where there is a married pair, but there are lodgers as well in 14 per cent of these homes. In Chicago, where the lodging houses were omitted from the family count, 11 per cent of the homes contained lodgers.⁶ It is often assumed that the lodging-house area is well defined and is located in a deteriorating residential section of the city. In New Haven, this is not the case. The lodgers are distributed fairly uniformly throughout all types of economic districts. The majority of families who keep any lodgers keep only one. It is generally believed that the number of families renting rooms is increased during times of economic depression, when the homemaker tries to supplement the family income. It will be interesting to test this hypothesis when the 1930 figures are available.

CHILDLESS FAMILIES

Data on the number of childless families and on the number of children per family are needed for a better understanding of many social problems, particularly those of population increase. It is a great mistake to assume, as has been done in the past, that any light will be thrown on the size of the typical family by dividing the total number of children by the number of married women. Such figures have, however, provided the basis for numerous generalizations about the extent to which selected families have differed from the general population. For

⁵ Monroe, Day, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*

example, we find references to the great number of childless families among those seeking divorces. The census data are unfortunately not adequate for answering this type of question.

As a matter of fact, as Table IV indicates, 36 per cent of the homes in New Haven contain no children. The necessary data for evaluating this point are not available. It should be pointed out, however, that there is a married couple in each of 28,878 of the families, and that 29 per cent of these families are childless. This fact would be interpretable, however, only if we knew the proportion of recent marriages where no children have been born and the proportion of marriages where all the children have left home.

TABLE IV—PROPORTION OF 36,320 FAMILIES IN NEW HAVEN CONTAINING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Number of Children under 21 Years	Percentage of Families
1.....	20
2.....	17
3.....	10
4.....	7
5.....	4
6.....	2
7.....	1
8.....	0.6
9 or more.....	0.5
None.....	36
Total.....	98.1

As may be observed, among those families containing children, the one-child family predominates. It includes one fifth of the families of the city.

The table which follows shows the proportion of families in New Haven which contain children under five years of age, as well as the number of such children.

TABLE V

Number of Children under Five Years	Percentage of Families
1.....	19.2
2.....	10.7
3.....	2.4
4.....	.2
5.....	.01
None.....	67.3
Total.....	99.81

It will be seen that two thirds of the families in New Haven have no children under five years.

A similar table for children under ten years takes the following form:

TABLE VI

Number of Children under Ten Years	Percentage of Families
1.....	18.8
2.....	13.1
3.....	7.4
4.....	4.0
5.....	1.4
6.....	.3
7.....	.04
None.....	54.8
Total.....	99.9

An examination of this table reveals that over half (54.8 per cent) of the homes have no children under 10 years.

Summing up the data on childless families, we may say that two thirds of the New Haven families contain no children under five years; over half have none under ten years; and about one third have none under twenty-one years.

SIZE IN RELATION TO COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES

The lack of uniformity in family size is even more evident when the

families are classified by types. This is shown in the following table, wherein figures are presented on the proportion of families in each group which contain the specified number of members.

It should be noted that with only three exceptions, the percentage of families included among those of any given size is less than 37 per cent of the total families of any type. In other

two. This is even more characteristic of the unrelated than of the related adults. Very possibly the related adults are remnants of a larger "biological" or "natural" family, while the unrelated people are detached individuals who have voluntarily established households, as well as those who conduct lodging houses.

The family which is ordinarily con-

TABLE VII—PERCENTAGE OF NEW HAVEN FAMILIES CONTAINING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Type of Family	Number of Families	Number of Persons in the Family												
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 plus	
		P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C	P C ^a	P C ^a	P C ^a	P C ^a	P C ^a	
H-W.	5,509	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
H-W-Ch.	15,042	..	..	29	26	17	11	7	4	3	1	1	x
H-W-Ch-R.	5,576	..	..	..	19	24	20	14	9	6	3	2	2
H-W-R.	2,751	..	..	58	27	9	4	1	1	..	..	x	x
M-Ch.	258	..	28	26	17	15	5	5	3	x	x	..	..
W-Ch.	849	..	36	29	15	10	5	3	1	1	x	x	..	
M-or-W-R.	2,802	..	50	28	13	5	2	1	x	x	x	..	..
M-Ch-R.	406	..	..	17	24	25	16	8	6	1	1	1	..
W-Ch-R.	1,104	..	..	21	25	20	12	10	5	3	2	1	1
Unrelated.	239	..	78	10	5	3	2	1	1	x	..	..	..
M alone.	632	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
W alone.	1,152	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

^a x equals less than 6.

words, no type of family is predominantly one size as compared with another. The exceptions are: the husband-wife-relatives type, which is composed of three members in 58 per cent of the cases; the man-or-woman-and-relatives group, which consists of two members in approximately half the instances; and the unrelated families, which are primarily (78 per cent) two-person families. Expressed another way, husbands and wives usually have only one relative living with them. Perhaps this person is the proverbial mother-in-law, but our analysis is not sufficiently detailed to warrant this statement. A family analysis which would further describe relatives is most desirable.

Related and unrelated adults most frequently live together in groups of

sidered the normal one, that is, the husband-wife-children type, most frequently contains three members. However, more than one fourth of these families exceed the theoretically "normal family of five," while only 17 per cent actually consist of that number of persons. In the husband-wife-children-relatives type, the five-person family is most prevalent, and more than half the families are larger than this mode.

Another measure of family size may be shown in the mean number of persons for each type, which is as shown in Table VIII.

It will be recalled that the mean family size for New Haven as a whole was 4.1. This average does not occur among any of the types listed above. The variation in all these figures should

TABLE VIII

Type of Family	Mean Number of Members
H-W-Ch.....	4.7
H-W-Ch-R.....	6.2
H-W-R.....	3.6
M-Ch.....	3.7
W-Ch.....	3.4
M-Ch-R.....	4.9
W-Ch-R.....	5.1
M-or-W-R.....	2.8
H-W.....	2
Man alone.....	1
Woman alone.....	1
Unrelated.....	2.5

indicate the need for caution in the use of the term "average family."

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

Although the immediate family consisting of related members is of primary importance to many social agencies, the *household*, which refers to all people who are living together in the home, is also of some significance. The extra people, or lodgers, form an important part of the modern family circle. It is to be hoped that detailed studies of these individuals, showing their ages, sex, occupations, family

connections, and other information, will be made from the 1930 tabulations. For the time being, however, we can only show their distribution among families of various types. The following figures should be compared with the table showing the number of persons per family for each type.

Glancing at these figures and comparing them with those on the number of persons per family, we may observe that lodgers live in all types of families, although in some types more than in others. The husband-wife families, for instance, take in lodgers in 15 per cent of the cases, while more than twice as many (37 per cent) of the woman-alone type keep lodgers. As compared with the man alone, the former families contain extra persons 10 per cent more frequently. This is a small difference in view of the general belief that women can keep lodging rooms more easily than can men, who have little or no domestic experience.

The largest households are found in the husband-wife-children-relatives families. Over 80 per cent of these families live in households containing five or more members. About half of the husband-wife-children families, and

TABLE IX—PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD

Type of Family	Number of Families	Number of Members											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 or more
		Percentage of households *											
H-W.....	5,509	..	85	8	3	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x
H-W-Ch.....	15,042	..	..	26	25	18	12	8	5	3	1	1	1
H-W-Ch-R.....	5,576	..	..	..	17	23	20	15	10	6	3	2	2
H-W-R.....	2,751	..	..	49	29	12	6	2	1	x	x	x	x
M-Ch.....	258	..	20	25	18	17	8	5	4	1	x	..	2
W-Ch.....	849	..	26	27	18	13	7	3	2	1	x	x	1
M-Ch-R.....	406	..	..	14	23	25	18	9	6	1	2	1	1
W-Ch-R.....	1,104	..	..	17	23	21	12	11	6	3	2	1	2
M-or-W-R.....	2,802	..	40	28	17	8	4	2	1	x	x	x	x
W alone.....	632	63	19	10	5	1	x	1	x	x	x	x	x
M alone.....	1,152	74	17	7	2	x	..	..	x	..	..	..	..
Unrelated.....	289	..	16	11	5	15	10	8	6	5	4	1	18

* x equals less than .6.

only one fifth of the husband-wife-relatives families are as large. In general, the households vary in size as much as do the families, and no group predominates except perhaps the two-person husband-wife household and the one-person man and woman alone.

CONCLUSION

The chief conclusion to which attention should be drawn is that statistical results will differ quite considerably according to the definition of "family" adopted. It is therefore desirable that writers on these subjects should state precisely what definition they are using.

A second conclusion is that the average number of persons in the modern American family, from the fourth, or New Haven definition (i.e., all individuals related to the head of the household and living under a common roof) is about four, but that the wide varia-

tion makes any such simple statement almost without meaning. In this connection, attention may again be drawn to the remarkable similarity of the results of the Chicago, Rochester, and New Haven inquiries.

It is difficult to summarize the results of the New Haven inquiry concerning the composition of families more concisely than has been done above. Perhaps the most outstanding fact is that the most prevalent type of family, comprising about two fifths of all the families in the city, is that in which there is a husband, a wife, and one or more children, but no other relatives.

Finally, the hope may be expressed that the results of the 1930 United States Census, in which families are defined and classified on the lines followed in the New Haven analysis, will provide fruitful material for future social studies.

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Courtship Practices and Contemporary Social Change in America

By NILES CARPENTER

FOUR functions are fulfilled by courtship in contemporary Western society.

First, it is an adjunct to the process of sexual selection. The prospective partners, through the medium of their tentative approaches, one to the other, are enabled to appraise each other as to attractiveness, health, social position, economic status, and the like, and on the basis of such an appraisal either to carry their association on to marriage or to withdraw from it. From this point of view, courtship is significant in respect to the matings that it forestalls as well as those that it promotes.

Second, it is an apprenticeship in mutual accommodation. As intimacy develops, the prospective mates find themselves under the necessity either of adjusting to each other, or else of severing their relationship. The closer and less restricted the comradeship of courtship, the greater opportunity does it afford the couple concerned to discover themselves to each other and to find out the elements in each other's personality that make for incompatibility or congeniality, and to begin the process of mutual accommodation that will—if their union is to be successful—be continued throughout their marriage.

Third, courtship is a stimulus to maturation. As it progresses, the young man and woman concerned begin to look towards and to plan concerning the obligations involved in marriage, and thereby prospectively to undergo the sobering and maturing influences that accompany such responsibilities. Moreover, courtship—

particularly when it reaches the stage of a tacit or avowed engagement to marry—carries with it a definite status, which is recognized by the associates and relatives of the prospective mates no less than by themselves. This status, implying as it does a stage on the way to marriage, carries with it the assumption that the couple concerned is approaching full adulthood. To the extent that this recognition of approaching adulthood takes place in courtship, the sociological and psychological development of the prospective mates is hastened.

Maturation is also promoted by the education in mutual adjustment described above, and by the sexual component in courtship discussed below.

Fourth, courtship is an essential link in the chain of allure and pursuit by means of which the prospective mates are ultimately carried on towards biological union. The degree to which the sexual component in courtship proceeds varies with the individuals concerned and with the cultural milieu in which they are placed.

SOCIAL CHANGE

As has just been suggested, the specific pattern assumed by courtship practices varies from culture area to culture area, and from time to time. Particularly is it affected by that intricate complex of technological and socio-psychological innovations that go by the name of social change. Of outstanding significance to courtship practices in contemporary America are those phases of social change which may be denominated as: (1) urbaniza-

tion and "rurbanization";¹ (2) the increased speed of transportation, particularly through the motor vehicle; and (3) the changed status of women, particularly as regards relaxation of inhibitory conventions, widened choice of occupation, and coeducational higher education.

URBANIZATION AS AFFECTING COURTSHIP

Recently the writer was transplanted suddenly from a city of 600,000 to a self-contained rural community whose largest town numbers less than 1,000, and whose nearest "city," with a bare 5,000 population is 60 miles away. The contrast between the two types of communities is startling. In many respects it is more striking than that observed in journeying from the United States to Europe. Such an experience as this serves to throw into high relief the nature and the extent of the change that is being wrought in American society by the growth of city life. Of the four major functions of courtship which have been enumerated, one seems to be most definitely colored by the urban trend—namely, sexual selection.

In this connection, attention should be directed first to the sex structure of the average city. There is to be found there a relative preponderance of females. In Europe, their preponderance is absolute. In the United States—largely because of the presence of large numbers of immigrant males—there is a slight excess of males over females, but it is very much smaller than is the case in the rural community. Such a situation naturally widens the range of choice of the prospective husband, but correspondingly limits that

of the prospective wife. Stated another way, it means that the young man who contemplates marriage is able to make a more leisurely and discriminating choice than the young woman—with the result that, in so far as a marriage is the consummation of a deliberate selective process, *that selection is more likely to be made by the male than by the female.*

Both prospective mates, however, enjoy a wider range of choice in the city than they would if they lived in the country. Not only are there actually more people per square mile in the former than in the latter; there are also more *young* people, there being a relative dearth of very young and very old individuals in urban populations. More than this, city populations are infinitely more varied as to physical and racial type, occupational and social status, and personality development than are rural populations.

One special phase of this urban-rural contrast in regard to sexual selection requires particular mention. It has to do with the consanguineous mating. The relative immobility of rural populations, coupled with their high fertility, makes it much more likely that individuals who are blood relatives in some degree of consanguinity will be thrown together and drift into marriage in the country than in the city. The eugenical connotations of this fact are obvious.

OTHER URBAN CHARACTERISTICS —"RURBANIZATION"

Offsetting to some degree these differential factors between city and country in this matter of sexual selection are, first, the relative isolation of city life, and second, the process of "rurbanization." The feebleness of neighborhood life, the insignificant rôle of the primary group, the high degree of anonymity and mobility—such char-

¹ This word has been coined by Galpin, to describe the interpenetration of urban and rural life, particularly the penetration of the countryside by influences emanating from the city.

acteristics of urbanism as these bring it about that young men and women are cut off from their fellows to a much greater extent within the city than outside of it. In so far as this is so, the range of choice of prospective mates in the city is considerably reduced.

The process of "rurbanization" serves in some measure to introduce into the countryside those influences making for relatively greater latitude in the scope of sexual selection which are chiefly associated with city life, and thus to narrow the differential between city and country in this respect. Of particular moment is the greater mobility imparted to the countryside by the interpenetration of the urban and rural worlds. The urban visitor to the rural community adds to the number of potential mates from whom the rural dweller can make a marital selection. Likewise, the young men and women residing in the city come within the periphery of the rural dweller's choices whenever the latter travel thither.

MATURATION AND COURTSHIP IN THE CITY

The third function of courtship practices, namely, maturation, is probably somewhat retarded by the contemporary trend towards city life. The mobility of the city, as well as its hostility to the maintenance of traditional culture norms, lends an atmosphere of casualness and fluidity to sex contacts of all sorts—courtship included—which is quite different from the quasi-formalized status imparted to courtship in the rural community. To these influences must be added that of the anonymity of city life and the nebulousness of the neighborhood and of primary groups generally in the city.

Thus it is that, whereas in the country the fact that a couple is "going around together" becomes promptly known throughout a wide circle of ac-

quaintances and—excepting perhaps for the opposition of a rival—is given tacit recognition and ratification, nothing of the sort normally occurs in the city. A courtship may indeed proceed through its several stages up to the very eve of marriage without attracting more than passing attention on the part of the couple's circle of acquaintances.

More than this, each of the prospective mates may drift into and out of two or three courtships before entering into the one which forms the prelude to their union. As a result, during the greater part of this final courtship, the attitude both of themselves and of their intimates is likely to be much the same as that which was exhibited towards their earlier, abortive experiences.

For such reasons as these, any given courtship is likely to hold less significance in the eyes both of the principals and their associates in the city than in the country. As a consequence, the young people concerned will probably experience less of a sense of having moved along the road towards the status and the responsibility of adulthood, and to that extent will lose some measure of the maturing influences that would otherwise accompany their association.

TRANSPORTATION—THE MOTOR VEHICLE

Increased speed and range of transportation is associated with the development of mechanized instrumentalities of movement and carriage. The most conspicuous instance at present is the motor vehicle. Like other phases of American culture, courtship has been affected by this group of material culture innovations. The most significant form of influence exercised upon courtship practices by these developments is so obvious that it needs little elucidation. It is the promotion of the second

major function of courtship, namely, the mutual accommodation following upon relatively unconstrained intimacy.

American folkways have never made it very difficult for prospective mates to enter into close-knit and natural comradeships of a sort that greatly facilitates the mutual unfolding and adjustment of their personalities. This process of apprenticeship in the difficult art of getting on together is greatly aided by the developments in rapid transportation which the past thirty years have witnessed. A means has been provided by which a couple may escape not only direct chaperonage, but also the restraint and embarrassment of being accompanied by, or under the eyes of, relatives and friends. In the space of an hour or less, the prospective mates are able to get away from their intimates and "be alone together." Inevitably, the facilitation of intimate companionship arising in this way carries with it opportunity for the mutual unfolding and accommodation of personality.

The writer has the impression—unverified by more than casual observation—that the long drawn-out honeymoon is rapidly dropping out of American marriage habits. If this is so, it may possibly be in part a consequence of the fact that a considerable part of the function of initiation into companionship that has traditionally been associated with the honeymoon is now being preempted by the courtship period.

INTIMACY VERSUS PRIVACY

Whether the increased intimacy that results from the rapidity of transportation and the ease of avoidance of relatives and friends consequent upon it, also conduces to a greater emphasis on the sexual component in the courtship relation, is problematical. It probably does so to the extent that it

permits escape from the prospective mates' own social milieu into the enveloping cloak of anonymity, and also to the extent that it promotes recourse to isolated and remote sections of the open country.

On the other hand, the distinction between privacy and intimacy must be noted in this connection. A couple may gain complete *intimacy*, in the sense of being free from interruption or from the observation of relatives and acquaintances, by taking a motor ride, by boarding an excursion steamer, or by going "down town" to a theater or a dance-hall; and yet may secure no *privacy* whatsoever.

Moreover, the isolation and remoteness of the countryside have been greatly lessened by the very means which has made access to it easy—to wit, the motor vehicle. Such is the case particularly where the twin processes of urbanization and "rurbanization" have proceeded very far. For illustration, note the rapid increase in blackmailing, robbery, and even murder of the occupants of motor vehicles parked in the open country.

Earlier in this discussion, mention was made of the bearing upon courtship of the anonymity of city life. Attention was directed to the fact that, by being able to avoid the oversight of relatives and friends and neighbors, the prospective mates were likely to lose somewhat the sense of having achieved a definite social status, and, accordingly, the sobering and maturing experience involved in such a status. At this point it may be observed that the anonymity implied in the ability to escape, by means of rapid transportation, from their relatives and other intimates probably tends towards a similar result.

A third consequence of the development of rapid transportation has been implied in the preceding section. The

process of sexual selection is greatly aided, in that the young man, or woman—in common with the entire population—travels more frequently and more widely than has been the case in any other era; is given an opportunity for meeting a greater number of prospective mates; and, by the same token, is given a larger number of alternative choices from which to pick his, or her, mate.

THE CHANGED STATUS OF WOMEN

As stated above, there are three phases of the alteration in the position of women that are of moment to this discussion. They are: the relaxation of conventional inhibitions on freedom of action; widened choice of occupation; and coeducational higher education.

All three of these forms of social change operate to promote both the widening of the range of sexual selection, and apprenticeship in mutual accommodation, through intimacy.

SEXUAL SELECTION

Sexual selection is facilitated by the lightening of the burden of restraint upon the conduct of women in that men and women are able to meet more frequently, under a greater variety of circumstances, and on a nearer approach to a plane of equality than formerly. The average young man or woman in search of a mate is, in other words, likely not only to encounter a greater number of individuals of the opposite sex, but—what is more significant—to see them under conditions that permit a much more accurate appraisal of personality than was possible under the artificial and limited contacts of an earlier period.

To take one example among many—the freedom with which young men and women participate together in such sports as tennis, golf, skating, and

the like enables each to secure a far better idea of the other's physical coördination and stamina, energy, persistence, sportsmanship, reaction to success or adversity, and so on than would have been possible in a generation when any activity on the part of a woman more strenuous than croquet or a sedate canter on the back of a gentle horse was considered to be "unmaidenly."

The widening of the occupational choices open to women increases the range of sexual selection in much the same way as does the relaxation of the restrictions upon their conduct. The opportunities for young men and women to meet each other are multiplied, and they are enabled to observe and appraise each other under circumstances calculated greatly to deepen their knowledge of each other. One has only to contrast for a moment the relationship between the young man and woman who see each other only in the evenings, over the week-end, and on occasional holidays, and that of those who work together in the same division of an office or department store, eight hours a day, six days a week, through the welter of all the ups and downs, the trials and temptations of the daily round of the job, to realize that sexual selection under the second set of conditions is likely to proceed from a far more substantial and realistic basis of choice than under the first.

The same is the case with the higher education of women, particularly through coeducation (or through the approximation to coeducation resulting from the close proximity of "separate" colleges).² Here again, encounters between young men and women are multiplied, and the prospective mates are able to secure a fully rounded knowledge of each other.

² E.g., Smith and Amherst; Radcliffe and Harvard; William, Smith and Hobart.

The college campus might indeed be considered as an almost ideal setting for the operation of the function of sexual selection. Its formal courses in hygiene, its health services, and its program of intercollegiate and intramural sport place a strong emphasis upon physical fitness. Its seemingly endless round of social functions gives ample scope for the display of social abilities—or the lack of them. The classroom and the laboratory provide a means for the appraisal not only of intellectual caliber but also of the virtues and the shortcomings in temperament and character which serve to facilitate positive achievement or to block it.

Finally, the whole gamut of campus life, with its intricate and shifting social groupings, its fraternity and "political" intrigues, its keen and unremitting competitiveness—above all, its intensity and unrestraint—brings into play every side of the young man's or woman's personality, and thereby permits each to obtain a fully rounded and penetrating understanding of the other.

APPRENTICESHIP IN MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION THROUGH INTIMACY

The manner in which intimacy and mutual accommodation are promoted by the three aspects of the changed status of women discussed above, is self-evident. The loosening of conventional restraints upon the behavior of women is an agency superlatively well suited to the bringing about of such a result. The growing *camaraderie* of young men and women looms large in the present-day panorama of social change.

Similarly, the entrance of women into occupations hitherto closed to them has made possible the development of a new sort of friendship between prospective mates, to wit, the fellowship of the job. As a consequence,

this present period is witnessing an increasing number of courtships where the function of training in mutual accommodation is reënforced by the salutary experience of working together.

The intensity of the intimacies developed in college life is proverbial. Not only are young men and young women thrown together at an age of high emotional sensitivity, not only are they provided with a far larger share of leisure than is vouchsafed to their fellows in field, factory, and office, but they are also impelled to seek each other's companionship because of the artificial make-up of the communities in which they are placed.

THE CAMPUS COMMUNITY

The significance to the relations of young men and women of this unbalanced make-up of the average college community is very great. The young men and women in it are, to begin with, removed by scores and hundreds of miles from their own homes, and thus from the full force of their emotional attachments to parents and to brothers and sisters. They are, in the second place, set in the midst of a community that consists of an overwhelming proportion of post-adolescents, and—by the same token—a relatively insignificant proportion of infants and children on the one hand, and of adults and elderly people on the other. They are thus led, by default, to seek virtually all of their comradeship at their own age level, and that age level is the one most closely associated with courtship. This observation applies with lessened weight to the nonresidential urban university. Nevertheless, the forces described above may be found in an attenuated form there, since the students of such an institution constitute a quasi-independent community through their classroom contacts, social gather-

ings, extracurricular activities, and the like.

Whether there is a higher sexual potential in the courtship relations of college communities than in other groups is uncertain. If there is, it is likely that the lack of emotional insulation described above is of significant importance. Attention also should be directed to the fact that the absence of the average college student from his family and from his own community

greatly weakens the effectiveness of the primary-group enforcement of customary standards, in this as well as other aspects of human relations. Witness the *penchant* of college students for mob violence and destruction of property.

That the loosening of customary restraints upon women, discussed above, operates towards a franker exploitation of the overtly physical element in courtship, seems obvious.

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Intra-Family Relationships and Resulting Trends

By LOUIS A. SCHWARTZ

THE family as the unit of social organization can be likened in many respects to a single living cell in an organism. To both might be ascribed an inner activity, dependent on other forces and contacts for protection and nourishment. The physiological function of osmosis can be compared to the play of the environment on the family as a whole. Just as there are differences in the cellular structure dependent on function, so there are differences in the family organization dependent on social status, racial group, or tradition. Cells may differ according to whether or not they are concerned with secretory activities or whether or not they are combined to form supportive structures.

In spite of apparent differences in structure, biological functions in general are similar and comparable. There probably are differences in the intracellular activities of the different types of cells depending on function, but knowledge in this respect is not so complete as the information regarding the final products of cellular activity. Minute or detailed knowledge of intracellular function is incomplete. The means by which biochemical changes take place within the cell is not so clear as the end results of the activity itself. The relationship of the nucleus to the cell and cytoplasmic structures is not clear as compared to the activity of the cell as a unit.

EMOTIONAL REACTIONS IN THE FAMILY

The analogy of the living cell to the family as a unit in social organization can be carried only thus far, since intra-family relationships can be determined. Just as there are fundamental bio-

chemical activities which are common to all living cells, so there are general principles analogous to each family, regardless of social status or background. It is within the family itself that the driving forces and the interplay of emotional reactions shape the attitude of each member one to another. It is upon these factors that emphasis will be stressed. The members of the family unit show a deeply seated emotional relationship one to another, arising from what has gone on before in the life experience of each member. These experiences color the relationship of the parents to their children. Frequently the mirrored reflection of a child is distorted or brought into greater clarity, depending on the degree to which the parents have been able to cope with their own problems. In these mirrored relationships the emotional ties with the parents can be broken or strengthened. There is a balance in these emotional values akin to the law of conservation of energy in the physical world. Over-evaluation or undue emphasis of certain emotional satisfactions of the parents may influence the delicate balance and result in the setting up of other compensatory satisfactions on the part of the child.

Differences then must be noted in the "intracellular properties" of the family as well as in regard to the family in toto as a unit. These subtle ties between members of the family are significant in producing certain trends or patterns of behavior. Attitudes toward life or the following of a certain career not infrequently results from this subtle relationship between the members of the family. For example, a father who has been frustrated from

a career by a deprived childhood may force his ambitions upon an unwilling and incapable son.

There are many types of manifestation of this relationship between members of the family resulting in certain definite trends within the family constellation. These may be classified into three major groups: first, those dealing with the direct effect upon the children by the parents, grouped according to what the parents receive from the lives of the children; second, the emotional satisfactions the children receive from the lives of the parents; and third, the relationship between the children themselves. The establishment of resulting trends is noted in each case.

WHAT PARENTS RECEIVE FROM CHILDREN

The parents in the first place can utilize their home life and their children as a relief mechanism for the discharge of personal maladjustment in their outside lives. The father who is forced into insignificance and obscurity by the mechanization of his job, may assert his power and authority in the home. The father's need to domineer may have sprung out of the relationship with his own father. Each member carries over into the present those conditioning forces of the past. The parent, then, may express this need to domineer by exerting this force upon the helpless child. If the child does not receive satisfying attentions from his parents, he may nourish a sullen resentment to the world about. Maladjustment grows well from the seeds planted in soil fertilized by earlier incompatibilities. The unsatisfied strivings and the thwarted instinctive urges of disappointed parents throw the child from the beginning into a maelstrom of insecurity. "The good home" can be postulated from the re-

sults of the breakdown of families as seen in domestic relations courts, juvenile courts, and similar agencies. The correlation between "broken homes" due to death, desertion, divorce, or other causes, and the unadjusted child seems clear.

The parents may receive excessive emotional satisfaction from their children as the result of marital discord. This is especially true when the mother isolates herself socially, so that the child gets more time in her presence. The child may then be overloaded with affection. The perpetually adolescent mother who keeps her children young for herself so that she can relive her own childhood, the mother who places her children under a burden of gratitude by her overindulgence, and the mother who sees the father's objectionable characteristics in her son and, so to speak, "takes out" her unexpressed resentment and hatred of the father on the unsuspecting boy, are a few commonly noted factors which operate even in the alleged "normal home." There is observed the father who resents assuming responsibility in his marital relationship, because of his failure to have developed emotionally, due to a perpetual dependency upon his parents.

There are many types of illustrations commonly noted as being dynamic in producing maladjustment in the home. On the surface, the trouble-making interaction may seem to be superficial; however, when traced to its source, it is usually found to be very significant. The child may resemble a grandparent, so that the parent can recapitulate an earlier deep tie in his own life through the being of the child. The parent regains some of his own childhood by identifying himself with the activities and the interests of his offspring. This can and does prove to be very satisfying. It can be utilized by the parent

as a safe haven when the outside demands of life become too great. The parent, however, may relive his own life with that of the child, depriving the child of independent thought. The parent may receive social approval for the great sacrifices he is making for his child. Yet the motivation may be a selfish one in binding the child closer to him under a burden of gratitude. This furthermore prevents emancipation of the child from the parent.

One sees, therefore, many satisfactions that the parent receives from his child in situations in which the motivations are not entirely clear. This relationship may be satisfying and constructive, depending on the degree to which the parent has been freed from any crippling influences in the development of his own personality.

WHAT THE CHILD RECEIVES FROM PARENTS

Perpetual discord has its greatest destructive results on the child. He can draw upon these impressions received, in later emergencies. These patterns to which he has been conditioned may fit or unfit him for a stable, mature family life later. The child may either become submissive and excessively yielding, or he may throw over all authority, whether it be school, church, or society, as a result of the domineering father. From the father the boy shapes his ideals and attitudes towards conventions and "rules of the game." The child naturally turns to those adults with whom he is most in contact—his parents. In the pre-puberty period the boy looks about him for an ideal adult to emulate. The father is then in a vulnerable position to aid in the inculcation of ideals and in instilling a "sense of moral responsibility" in his offspring. The degree to which the parent leads a well-inte-

grated life determines the extent of his ability to bring about the development of his child.

From the parent the child receives security and protection. By this is meant not only the necessary security in terms of material advantages such as food, clothing, and shelter, but also the security attendant upon the presence of a harmonious relationship between the parents in the home. The child gets from such parents a deep and fundamental safeguard against the threats of an external ominous world later in life. The family constellation is seen as a mosaic of subtle interrelationships in which the unwholesome friction of parents disorganizes the child's developing personality.

From the parent the child receives the opportunity to develop and utilize his inherent abilities. The child is protected from organic disease which not only may cripple him, but may result secondarily in attitudes toward bodily defect which are far more destructive in their end results. The child receives from his parents, then, not overindulgence accentuating the difficulty, but compensatory activities which yield substitutive satisfactions leading to development. A parent in this case would find the child's innate abilities and utilize them.

The child receives recognition and approval from his parents. This approval which he receives is one of the great socializing forces that operate upon him. A child may develop attention-getting behavior if he does not receive this recognition in the home. Other social behavior may be in the form of vicarious expressions to gain attention.

The child, then, learns a greater adaptation to the complex demands of life and the formation of better social habits from the contacts with his parents.

EFFECTS OF SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

The childrens' interaction in the home is largely determined by what feeling values are carried over from the parents. Not infrequently the family is divided into two camps, with the children lining up with either one parent or the other. The extent to which this takes place will vary from a friendly, wholesome rivalry to one of frank bitterness. This is especially true where the parent shows a tendency to marked favoritism. Sibling rivalry and unfavorable comparison often result in compensatory drives toward personal satisfaction which may be socially acceptable or not, as the case may be.

The children in the home stimulate each other by creative interests. Self-interest is great in early childhood, so that conflicts with others are of value in that they build up a conception of others. The children learn to limit their demands in the presence of other children. With competition there is a tendency to begin the narrowing of individual interests and the establishment of definite goals. These contacts widen the child's horizon. A discussion of a child's disability in his brother's presence may incite the former to

rebellion or force him into another activity which is socially acceptable and which will give him individual recognition.

The contacts of children in play resemble a miniature adult world. In this way, property rights and money values can be learned. The play life offers the greatest possibilities for socializing the child. A desire to express power is an inherent characteristic in children. Very frequently this is done at the expense of a younger child. Where there are differences in the attitudes of the parents toward children, any offer to make the child conform or obey may be accepted differently by each child. Instead of accepting this supervision and guidance, the jealous child may become more impulsive and expose himself to dangers as retaliative measures.

To continue with the analogy between the living cell and the family as a unit, the nucleus in the cell may be represented as the parents who are mature and well adjusted in assuming their responsibilities. Such a nucleus is well regulative of cellular functions. With cellular division, then, it is unlikely that hybrids will be produced.

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Birth Control in Historical and Clinical Perspective

By NORMAN E. HIMES

THE purpose of this paper is to sketch briefly the history of birth control, to suggest the nature of some of the clinical findings, and to evaluate its present status. Divergence of personal opinion notwithstanding, all thoughtful people are agreed that the rise of contraception as a major social phenomenon is intimately associated with family welfare. Volumes could be written on any one of the topics herein discussed.

My aim, however, is not to enter upon numerous theoretical interpretations, not to explore the interaction of the two institutions, the family and birth control (for the interplay of forces is too complex, too revolutionary, too profound to be ventured upon in a short paper) but rather to present factual and evaluating data in the hope that they may assist the reader in his own interpretations. The problems that conception control raises are countless. All are fundamental, some pressing; and their solution is calculated to challenge the best efforts of constructive statesmanship and of objective social science. A consideration of such theoretical questions, I have deliberately set aside. Many statements must remain undocumented; but they are the result of some years' specialized study of the subject.

I. THE HISTORY OF BIRTH CONTROL

Man's knowledge of conception control reaches so far back into the past that it is impossible to discern with clarity and exactness its real genesis. Some writers go so far as to say that Stone Age man was not ignorant of

it; others deny this. At all events it is now accepted that human populations have always somehow controlled their numbers. Until recently, however, death-producing checks have been more operative than birth-preventing checks. Though contraception has been practiced by primitive peoples, it has played, comparatively speaking, a minor rôle. Abortion and infanticide are more frequently found; but a number of widely distributed tribes possessed birth-control knowledge more or less effective. Even when purely magical recipes are found, they give abundant witness to the general prevalence of an early and widespread desire to regulate conception. In some instances rational methods were known and practiced;¹ and not a few were predicated upon an extraordinary knowledge of anatomy.

The earliest known prescription still extant in writing occurs in the Petrie or Kahun papyrus (c. 1850 B.C.). This partly rational and probably effective recipe has recently been traced by the writer in European medical literature as late as the ninth and eleventh centuries A.D. Likewise the Ebers papyrus (1550 B.C.) contained a recipe,

¹A comprehensive historical survey of the technique of contraception from the earliest times to date, including the practices of primitive peoples, the ancient Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, and the Europeans of the Middle Ages and later times, will be published in *The Medical Control of Fertility* by Robert L. Dickinson and Louise Stevens Bryant, in collaboration with Samuel R. Meaker, Cecil Voge (Edinburgh), Frederick J. Taussig, and Norman E. Himes. This volume is one of a series of monographs of the National Committee on Maternal Health, Inc. Probable date, 1932.

reasonably effective, and based upon rather modern principles. The prescriptions to be found in the Berlin papyrus (c. 1300 B.C.) were less rational; but they undoubtedly influenced the pseudo-Hippocratic writers.

Recent research on contraception as considered by the Greek and Roman medical writers shows clearly that the best minds in the field of medicine of the period, considered the control of conception as a legitimate phase of the healing art. It was as much accepted as any other medical technique, and more advanced than many other branches. The revival of interest in contraception among physicians in recent decades is, therefore, nothing strange or radical. It is in fact a most conservative step—a return to classicism in medicine.

Among those who wrote in the early period on contraceptive technique were Aristotle, the pseudo-Hippocratic writers, Soranus of Ephesus (second half of the first century A.D.), Aetius of Amida (sixth century A.D.), Dioscorides of Anazarbus in Cilicia (flourished 60 A.D.), Oribasius (325?–400?), and Pliny. The discussion of contraceptive technique by Soranus deserves special mention. It is beyond doubt the most complete and rational account of methods of controlling conception to be found in medical literature well down into the middle of the nineteenth century. The text of this section of Soranus' *Gynæcology* has just recently been published in English for the first time.²

The medical works of ancient China have yielded more than competent Sinologists expected. But here again, recipes are mainly irrational and ineffective. The earliest now known appears in a work of the Sung dynasty (960–1260 A.D.). It is clear, however, from medical works still extant, that the

Chinese practiced abortion in the pre-Christian era.

The Arabian school of medicine, which was founded largely on the knowledge of the Greeks, also took up contraception. Representative of some forty similar works is the *Treatise on Simples* by Ibn el Baithar (died c. 1248), the great Arabian botanist and physician. The work is, however, a disappointment from the standpoint of the rationality of the recipes, of which there are a score.

MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

This is not the place to trace medical knowledge through the Middle Ages, except to point out one significant social fact—that the intensification of religious outlook seems to have caused retrogression in the rationality of the contraceptive recipes of that period. Many of the superstitions connected with conception control are to be traced not to Egyptian papyri, not to the medical works of outstanding Greek and Roman writers, not even to the medical works of ancient China, but to the journalese and dilettante *Natural History* of Pliny, and, more especially, to certain writers of the Middle Ages of whom Albertus Magnus is typical.

Contraception in India during the Middle Ages, like that in Europe in the same period, was largely magical. The Indians resorted mainly to ineffective potions (no drug has ever been discovered that, taken by the mouth, will prevent conception), and one recipe, while effective, was physiologically harmful.

The history of conception control in Europe in the period 1400–1800 is to be found largely in treatises, almost exclusively European, on folk medicine. While some rational recipes are to be found, one is impressed with the persistence of superstition and primitive magic. The whole history of birth

² See "Soranus on Birth Control," *New England Journal of Medicine*, CCV, 490–491, 1931.

control is, on the side of technique, a constant struggle on the part of rational methods to achieve or maintain hegemony.

FRANCIS PLACE SOCIALIZED BIRTH CONTROL

Birth control does not begin as a social movement, as a democratized social institution, until the English educational campaign of Francis Place in 1823. Place was the first to attempt to get knowledge of conception control to the working masses.³ Regardless of the number of predecessors who discussed technique, Place is nevertheless to be considered the founder of the modern birth-control movement. Moreover, Place was the first to give birth control a body of social theory, however inadequate that theory may be considered from our standpoint. Medical "indications" (i.e., reasons) for conception control had been hinted at in the Talmud; but they were two-thirds irrational. Place, on the other hand, as a layman, recorded, if he did not work out, indications which only lately have come to be accepted by the medical profession. These were signal achievements.

Another service no less valuable was the training of such disciples as Richard Carlile and the Newgate Neo-Malthusians.⁴

Place influenced the founders of the American birth-control movement, which dates from 1823. In 1830 Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877) published

³ See Norman E. Himes, "The Birth Control Handbills of 1823," *Lancet*, Aug. 6, 1927. See also introduction to my edition of Francis Place's *Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930; James A. Field (Edited by Helen Fisher Hohman), *Essays on Population*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. For a good short discussion see the article "Birth Control" by F. H. Hankins in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

⁴ A paper will shortly be published on these English pioneers of the eighteen-twenties.

his *Moral Physiology*, of which some seventy thousand copies were sold here and in England before Owen's death in 1877. Charles Knowlton's (1800-1850) *Fruits of Philosophy* (New York, 1832; second ed. Boston, 1833), which had no little influence here, was the first American treatise on conception control written by a physician. Owen was, of course, a layman. The Oneida Community, under J. H. Noyes, did some interesting independent experimenting.

Two other early figures in America who were valiant supporters of an unpopular doctrine were Edward Bliss Foote, M.D. (1829-1906) and his son Edward Bond Foote, M.D. (1854-1910). The former was fined \$3,500 in 1876 for sending his *Words in Pearl* through the mails. Other pioneers were De Robigne M. Bennett, Robert Ingersoll, Moses Harmon, and Ezra Heywood.⁵ From the middle of the century down to 1900, the birth-control movement was partly in the hands of a "lunatic fringe" which it has since, for the most part, cast out.

ENGLISH AGITATION

To return to the early period in England: Place's contraceptive handbills were widely distributed among the working people of London and certain Midland towns, between 1823 and 1826; and birth control was upheld by Place, Carlile, and J. S. Mill⁶ in numerous radical weeklies of the period. But after the passage of the Poor Law in 1832 and the death of Malthus in 1834, the more overt forms of agitation

⁵ A number of these figures have been treated by Dr. F. M. Vreeland in a Michigan doctoral thesis on *The Process of Reform with Especial Reference to Reform Groups in the Field of Population* (1929).

⁶ Mill's lost letters on birth control are shortly to be published, edited by the present writer, under the title, *John Stuart Mill and the Birth Control Controversy*.

quieted down. The American tracts of Knowlton and Owen were issued in England and quietly circulated for forty years, until the publication of the *Fruits of Philosophy* was finally vindicated in 1878 in the Court of Queens Bench.⁷ This was the so-called Knowlton trial. There was, however, a minor setback in the successful prosecution of Edward Truelove for the publication of Owen's *Moral Physiology*.

In the meantime an unknown working man writing under the pseudonym "Anti-Marcus" had published his unoriginal but interesting and chaste *Notes on the Population Question* (1841). Its influence was small. In 1854 appeared Dr. George Drysdale's (1827-1904) provocative *Elements of Social Science*, the influence of which can hardly be over-estimated. Drysdale was the Judge Lindsey of his time. About his *Elements*, renowned for its advanced views on sex education as well as birth control, raged a stormy controversy. This accounts in part for the thirty-five English editions and for its translation into ten European languages. But the chief reason for its popularity was no doubt the fact that it gave the public what it wanted.

THE KNOWLTON TRIAL

The Knowlton trial (1877-1879) and its associated notoriety caused the apparently stillborn Malthusian League of the early sixties to take on vitality. An organization was then founded which lasted until its work was considered accomplished (1878-1927). Dr. Charles R. Drysdale (1829-1907) was the president from its foundation to his death. Its organ, the *Malthusian*, started in February 1879 to forward the conservative objects of the League, became the *New Generation* in 1922. Not until just before the War did the League

officially disseminate medical information, and then only under restricted conditions.

After the successful outcome of the Knowlton prosecution, Annie Besant issued her *Law of Population*, in 1879. More frank and medically elaborate than the *Fruits of Philosophy*, it was enormously popular, and sold widely at a low price until it was withdrawn in 1891, when Mrs. Besant became a Theosophist. In the eighties, Dr. H. A. Allbutt got into trouble with the Medical Council for the publication at a low price of his *Wife's Handbook*. It is still issued, and nearly a million copies have been sold.

The notoriety of the Knowlton trial led to an increased demand for contraceptive literature, stimulated the production and sale of other similar tracts, and caused an improvement in contraceptive devices—so great had the demand for better methods now become. The weight of authority is now agreed that the decline in the birth rate after 1880 was largely, though not exclusively, the consequence of these circumstances.⁸ But since the decline was inevitable anyhow, these forces may have accelerated rather than caused the change.

Between 1890 and 1918, events in the English movement were less spectacular. It was a period of continued, quiet penetration; of seepage downward of ideas and practices first adopted by the upper classes.

In other countries of Western Europe the story of development during the nineteenth century is not widely different. In Southern and Eastern Europe such practices and ideas have been adopted with less rapidity. But authorities agree that it is solely a

⁸ A few authorities are cited in one of my papers, "Charles Knowlton's Revolutionary Influence on the English Birth Rate," *New England Journal of Medicine*, Sept. 6, 1928.

⁷ *Queen v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant*.

question of time before similar practices will come to prevail there.

LEAGUES AND CONFERENCES

Following the English Malthusian League, other propaganda organizations were founded: in Holland, 1885; Germany, 1889; France, 1895; Bohemia, 1901; Spain, 1904; Brazil, 1905; Belgium, 1906; Cuba, 1907; Switzerland, 1908; Sweden, 1911; Italy, 1913; and Mexico, 1918. In the United States the National Birth Control League, started in 1914 and reorganized in 1915, became, at the first American Birth Control Conference (1921), the American Birth Control League. International Neo-Malthusian Conferences were held at Paris in 1900; Liege, 1905; The Hague, 1910; Dresden, 1911, London, 1922; and New York, 1925.

The World Population Conference held at Geneva in 1927⁹ was by intent a scientific, not a birth-control congress. [There is, of course, in the minds of some, a necessary dichotomy here.] The conference was ably organized in the first instance by Margaret Sanger. It gave birth to legitimate and pedigreed progeny—The International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems. These events indirectly stimulated the organization of the Population Association of America in May 1931. In recent years four congresses of the World League for Sexual Reform have been held. These discussed, among other subjects, birth control. In the Summer of 1930 a conference was held at Zurich, the first to be devoted exclusively to clinical reports.¹⁰

⁹ See Margaret Sanger (Ed.), *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, London: Arnold, 1927.

¹⁰ See the report by Dr. Hannah Stone and Margaret Sanger, *The Practice of Contraception: An International Symposium*, Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1931.

RECENT PROGRESS IN THE ORIENT

In the Orient, too, rapid progress is being made.¹¹ There the situation is complicated by somewhat slower rates of social change, a relative absence of industrialization, the low status of women, and ancestor worship; but more particularly by an unusually wide application of the communal concept of the family. Where the whole family, including even distant relatives, is responsible for the maintenance of offspring, and not alone those who give birth to them, the economic motives for family limitation are greatly weakened. There remain only health and personal motives; and these are not as yet much awakened. In other words, the Orient may have to go through an intellectual and industrial revolution before it can experience a vital revolution.

The day is not far off, however, when Oriental countries will have a well-organized, strong, and socially effective birth-control movement. Beginnings have been made even in India. The Chinese and Japanese Governments have, *as organized governments*, given more intelligent consideration to the problem of introducing and guiding intelligently this new movement than any of the countries of Western civilization save Russia.

II. THE CLINICS

Developments in the birth-control movement have been rapid in Europe since the War. Advance has been most accelerated perhaps in England and Germany, especially in the development of clinical services.

ENGLISH CLINICS

It was in March 1921 that Marie C.

¹¹ See the *Birth Control Review*, June 1931, p. 177, and preceding issues. This journal is almost the sole source on birth-control progress in the Orient.

Stopes opened her Mothers' Clinic in London. This was followed in the fall of the same year by the Walworth Women's Welfare Centre, the prime movers being Dr. and Mrs. C. V. Drysdale. The English birth-control movement has been largely guided by members of the Drysdale family since 1854. As a result of a decade of progress, one will now find in many of the large English and Scottish towns, at least one clinic.

The House of Lords moved as early as April 28, 1926, by a vote of 57 to 44, to recommend to the Ministry of Health that certain restrictions on contraceptive instruction at state-aided ante-natal welfare centers be removed.¹² But it was not this action which finally prompted the Ministry of Health to qualify its position; it was the relentless pressure of public opinion, and finally the realization that the people could get the information through other channels if the two thousand or more ante-natal welfare centers refused it. The people might as well have competent advice at a low cost as questionable advice at a high cost.

The centers may now give contraceptive information for medical reasons only.¹³ Economic indications are not yet officially recognized. Increasingly, County Councils are making provision for contraceptive services. Each month adds new Councils to the list.

At the present time the chief sources of contraceptive advice in Great Britain are the following: the private practitioner; clinics financed by indi-

viduals and by public subscriptions; hospitals and dispensary services; stations run by nurses or certified midwives; popular medical literature; free pamphlet service of the now disbanded Malthusian League; commercial clinics; the "rubber shops"; caravan clinics visiting the rural districts. The facilities of dissemination are so considerable that no person of normal intelligence and initiative need go without reliable, harmless contraceptive advice in Great Britain today unless he chooses to do so. This elaborate organization is a far cry from the pre-war situation.

MARRIAGE ADVICE STATIONS

In Germany, likewise, where progress has been rapid since the War, there has been a decided tendency to view family sex problems as an entity, and to incorporate a contraceptive service into the broader work of marriage advice stations (*Eheberatungsstellen*). Progress has also been made in Austria, Holland, and Denmark. Little has been done in England. Available reports in English of the work of the existing stations are meager. There have been occasional dispatches to the *Journal of the American Medical Association*; and C. H. Robinson's *Seventy Birth Control Clinics*,¹⁴ the best survey of the clinics in print, touches upon the work of these stations.

Save for Dr. Paul Popenoe's experiment in California and the efforts of a few scattered individuals, the United States has no system approaching that of the Germans. It is most unfortunate that large American foundations have been slow to assist this constructive, neglected field of service, and that American sociologists have overlooked the research possibilities in this field.

¹² *Hansard*, LXIII, 992-1057, April 28, 1926.

¹³ Memorandum 153 of the Ministry of Health (1931 but see earlier statements) reads in part as follows: "The Government consider that in cases where there are medical grounds for giving advice on contraceptive methods to married women in attendance at the [ante-natal] centres, it may be given, but that such advice should be limited to cases where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health."

¹⁴ Robinson, Caroline H., *Seventy Birth Control Clinics*, Baltimore: William and Wilkins, 1930.

AMERICAN CLINICS

It is significant that the United States now has more clinics than Great Britain. This is not to say that contraceptive advice is anything like as accessible to American as to British citizens; rather does it suggest the progress made since 1923, when the New York clinic¹⁵ seriously got under way.

Today thousands of patients annually pass through approximately eighty clinics. Some of these clinics are managed conservatively, accepting patients only for grave medical reasons; others, more liberal, accept patients on economic and eugenic indications. The tendency is toward a more liberal interpretation of "preventive" medicine; but the recent pronouncement of the New York Academy of Medicine (served to the public in 1931, but kept on ice for ten years before serving) is conservative on economic indications. The Academy washes its hands of the economic and social indications. As if these could be isolated in any rational program of preventive medicine!

A list of American clinics for the use of social workers and others will be found in Robinson's book and in two other sources, one a governmental publication.¹⁶ The increase in clinics has been so rapid that any list is out of date before it can be published. Geographically the clinics are distributed all over the country, though the South has

¹⁵ For technical, legal reasons, the proper designation is the New York Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau. For brevity's sake I refer to it as the New York clinic or Bureau.

¹⁶ See pp. 24-25 of *Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate Seventy-first Congress Third Session on S. 4532*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. 84. The above is a report of the hearings on the Gillett Bill. A list also appears in Margaret Sanger's *My Fight for Birth Control*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1931.

been as backward as the Far West and the Middle West have been progressive. New York, Newark, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Detroit, and Los Angeles have thriving clinics; and there are half a dozen in Chicago.

FINDINGS OF CLINICS

It is impossible in the space available to summarize the social, economic, and medical findings of the clinics. A few sources may be mentioned,¹⁷ some general principles emphasized, and a few tables and graphs presented for what they may be worth in the absence of detailed interpretation.

No one knows how many patients have been instructed at British and American clinics since 1921 and 1923 respectively. A reasonable estimate would be 50,000 in Great Britain and 75,000 in the United States. If one includes the desk visits of patients not advised on methods, 20,000 persons received some service from the New York Bureau alone in 1930. The following figures show the growth in number of visits in the past five years at New York.

1926.....	2,846
1927.....	3,621
1928.....	6,873
1929.....	9,737
1930.....	12,086 ¹⁸

So great have been the demands at the New York Bureau that a staff of

¹⁷ Robinson, *op. cit.* Himes, Norman E. and Vera C., "Birth Control for the British Working Classes: A Study of the First Thousand Cases to Visit an English Birth Control Clinic (North Kensington)," *Hospital Social Service Magazine*, XIX 578-617, (1929). Reference should also be made to the annual reports of the clinics. A clearing house is badly needed for the distribution of these reports, some of which are extremely valuable. At present it is necessary to write directly to the secretaries of the various British and American clinics. For the list see Robinson, *op. cit.*, or the reference to *Hearings*, above.

¹⁸ Letter of Margaret Sanger.

TABLE I—VITAL AND SOCIAL DATA ON 3296 CASES—BRITISH BIRTH CONTROL CLINICS²⁰

Location of Clinic	Series	Pregnancies			Living Children			Losses			Years Married			Ages		
	Total	Total	Arith. Mean	σ	Total	Arith. Mean	σ	Total	P.C. Pregs.	Miscarriages P.C.	Arith. Mean	σ	r with Pregs.	r with L.C.	Wife Mean	Hus. Mean
North Kensington.....	1,000	3,855	3.86	2.83	3,005	3.00	2.56	886	23.0	51.9	8.7	6.0	.73	.60	31.3	33.9
Manchester.....	600	2,331	3.89	2.66	1,783	2.98	1.79	548	23.5	47.5	8.8	5.4	.66	.66	31.0	33.5
Wolverhampton.....	498	1,775	3.56	2.41	1,450	2.91	1.83	338	19.0	41.5	8.2	8.2	.75	.70	30.8 ^a	—
Cambridge.....	309	1,202	3.89	2.72	1,014	3.28	2.28	198	16.4	46.0	9.7	6.0	.72	.62	32.2 ^f	34.9 ^g
Liverpool.....	234	1,178	5.05	3.16	911	3.89	2.27	284	24.2	31.0	9.8	5.8	.79	.75	31.8 ^d	34.8 ^e
Birmingham.....	165	694	3.66	2.98	479	2.90	2.55	130	20.7	45.4	9.5 ^b	5.9	.68 ^b	.55 ^b	32.4	35.1
Glasgow—Adequate Series	150	691	4.60	2.97	520	3.46	2.10	179	25.8	39.6	9.5	5.9	.75	.74	31.3 ^h	34.6 ^h
Inadequate Series ..	89	366	4.15	—	324	3.64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	239	1,057	4.38	—	844	3.55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Aberdeen.....	109	619	5.67	2.8	486	4.45	2.25	134	21.6	30.6	10.0	5.0	.78	.73	31.1	33.4
Cannock Miners.....	114 ^c	465	4.08	2.4	386	3.89	1.96	—	—	—	8.6	8.6	.63	.68	—	—
Cannock Non-Miners.....	28	97	3.46	2.78	80	2.86	2.25	—	—	—	7.8	4.9	.73	.54	—	—
Grand Totals.....	3,296	13,183	4.00	—	10,438	3.17	—	2,097	—	—	9.1	—	—	—	31.5	34.3

^a Based on 496 cases instead of 498.
^b Based on 161 cases instead of 165.
^c The records of 17 of these cases were kept at Wolverhampton, but are not included in the Wolverhampton series, since these miners are counted in this group.
^d Based on 232 cases instead of 234.
^e Based on 226 cases instead of 234.
^f Based on 308 cases instead of 309.
^g Based on 292 cases instead of 309.
^h Based on 148 cases instead of 150.

²⁰ Himes, Norman E., "British Birth Control Clinics," *Eugenics Review*, xx, 159.

twenty-eight is required;¹⁹ and a branch had to be opened in February 1930 at Harlem, especially for Negro patients. In sixteen months (February 1930 to June 25, 1931) the Harlem Bureau had 2,983 visits, and 1,384 patients were advised.

Turning now to English records, Table I shows that the average number of pregnancies was four; of living children, three. The patients have been married 9.1 years, and are 31

fessional classes use the clinics hardly at all. This is somewhat less true in America, owing to legal restraints, greater ignorance of technique on the part of the medical profession, and the (until recently) virtual "monopoly" of this service by the clinics.

Figure I suggests that the clinics are operating eugenically and tending to mitigate the undoubted evils of the differential birth rate. This is, however, a large subject in itself, and many qualifications are necessary for a proper statement of the case.

The wage income of the husbands of the patients of British clinics is about \$12.50 a week. In the New York Bureau series summarized by Cooper, three quarters showed an average of \$30.52. The figure is probably not far wrong for America in general. I am inclined to the opinion, however, that even allowing for higher wage levels in America, and especially in New York, the American group represents a somewhat superior economic level of clientele. Whether the difference (if it really exists) in economic status between the British and American clientele represents also a difference in genetic quality, no one knows; perhaps not.

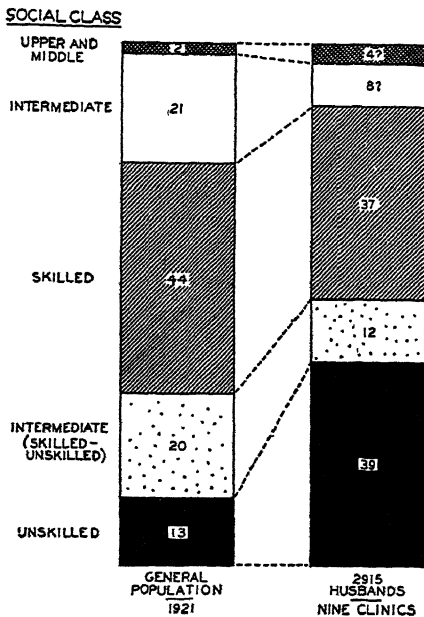


FIGURE I.—Percentage Distribution by Social Classes of Clientele of Nine British Birth Control Clinics as compared with the Percentage Distribution of Social Classes in the General Population.—From Robinson, *Seventy Birth Control Clinics*, p. 92. Data by present writer in "British Birth Control Clinics," *Eugenics Review*, xx, 157-165, Oct. 1928. Same chart in *Eugenics*, III, 414, Nov. 1930.

years of age. The husbands were three years older—34.3 years. Ninety per cent of the clinic clientele came from the working classes, one third to one half being unskilled. The British pro-

ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CLINICS

The clinics have done notable work in the early discovery and prevention of disease. Conditions leading to cancer of the uterus are typical. Clinical experience has demonstrated more amply several theoretical propositions long held by Neo-Malthusians, but which needed further substantiation to convince some. It is no longer possible to argue that modern contraceptives cause sterility, that they are injurious, or that they commonly fail. Clinical evidence refutes all these allegations.

It can be proved deductively, but not by figures, that the clinics have done much to reduce the appalling

¹⁹ More specifically: 16 physicians, 5 nurses, 4 social and research workers, and 3 clerical workers.

frequency of resort to abortion. Certainly they are more effective in this respect than is repressive legislation. Figure II is self-explanatory in showing the relation at the North Kensington (London) clinic between the frequency

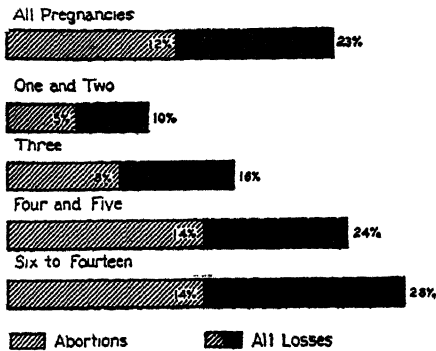


FIGURE II.—Percentage of Losses from all Causes and by Abortion According to Number of Pregnancies.²¹ North Kensington, London. Series 1,000 cases.

of pregnancies and that of abortions, using the latter term in the most approved medical sense to include miscarriages.²²

CHILD MORTALITY IN RELATION TO SIZE OF FAMILY ENGLAND & WALES 1911

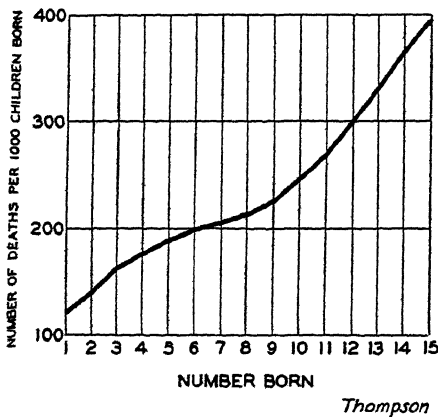


FIGURE III.

Thompson

²¹ *Hospital Social Service*, xix, 595.

²² Cf. [Baltimore] Bureau for Contraceptive Advice, Third Annual Report, p. 8. See also the report of the Cleveland Maternal Health Association; and Norman E. Himes, "The

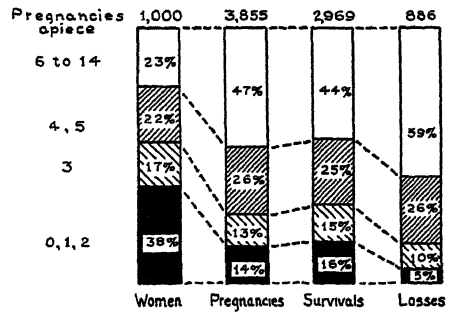


FIGURE IV.—Pregnancies, Survivals, and Losses Reported by 1,000 Women Seeking Birth Control Advice at the North Kensington Clinic.²³

Figure III shows the relation between child mortality and the size of family in England and Wales in 1910. Woodbury's data have been more refined and are therefore more reliable, but they show the same tendency. Thus the clinic figures supplement the findings of other studies. But they emphasize anew the phenomenon of pregnancy waste. No census has succeeded in enumerating the number of pregnancies. Figure IV illustrates the relation between the "rate of loss" of pregnancies and their frequency; Figure V shows the infant mortality rates by order of birth in eight cities of the United States for the period 1911-1916; and Figure VI, the rates of maternal mortality for Baltimore in 1915 for various orders of birth. Before and after the third child, the rates are higher.

SOME FINDINGS OF TYPICAL AMERICAN CLINICS

I shall now present, with a minimum of comment and interpretation, in order to save space, certain data taken from the reports of two representative American clinics—Cleveland and Baltimore. For the most part, these tables are self-explanatory.

Relation of Birth Control to Infant Mortality and Pregnancy Waste," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, June 1928.

²³ *Hospital Social Service*, xix, 593.

Cleveland: The first Cleveland clinic was opened by the Maternal Health Association on March 22, 1928. At first, patients were accepted for medical reasons only; but in June 1929 it was voted to accept clients "for weighty reasons of [a] social and economic character." This policy is now operative in each of Cleveland's five clinic sessions. The policy at both Cleveland and Baltimore is to accept few patients and to keep detailed records.

Table II shows the occupational

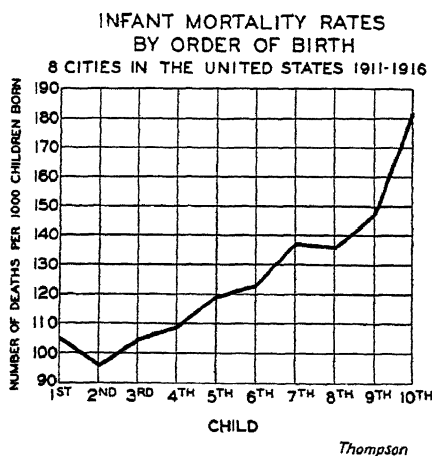


FIGURE V.

distribution of patients' husbands in 510 cases at Cleveland. Note that 44.6 per cent were unskilled workmen, that 24.1 per cent were skilled or semi-skilled, and that only 8.5 per cent were in the professional group. It will be seen from Table III covering 583 cases at Baltimore that 20.8 per cent were classed as unskilled, and 31.9 per cent as skilled or semiskilled.

Baltimore: Table IV is illuminating. There is a general but irregular tendency for the percentage of abortions and/ or miscarriages to increase as the number of pregnancies increases.

Commenting on this table, the third report says (pp. 8-9):

For women who have had from 0 to 9 pregnancies, the total number of pregnancies is 2,421, and the total number of abortions and/ or miscarriages is 321, or 13.3 per cent. For women who have had from 10 to 22 pregnancies the corresponding numbers are 1,039 and 263, or 25.3 per cent. The difference, therefore, between the percentage of abortions and/ or miscarriages in these two classes of women is 12.0 ± 0.94 per cent. This is more than twelve times its probable error, or in other words there are odds of many millions to one that women with ten or more pregnancies have a larger percentage of abortions and/ or miscarriages than women with fewer than ten pregnancies.

Of course the women represented in Table IV are not a random sample, but women selected partly because of their high fertility. Ideally, we need to know the prenatal mortality by conception order. Allowance should also be made for the age of wife and her

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES
BY ORDER OF CHILDBIRTH
BALTIMORE 1915

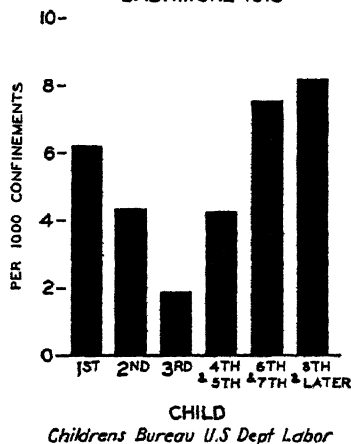


FIGURE VI.

economic status. Eventually the clinics will gather this information properly.

Table V deals with data similar to that commented upon in Table IV. The source of patients at Cleveland

TABLE II—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY CLASSES OF PATIENTS' HUSBANDS AT CLEVELAND BIRTH-CONTROL CLINICS ²⁴

Occupational Class	Number of Patients Whose Husbands Fall in Specified Class	Percentages
Skilled and semiskilled workmen in the manufacturing, building and other industries	123	24.1
Unskilled laborers	227	44.6
Railway (street and steam) workers, chauffeurs, and teamsters	43	8.5
Tradesmen	22	4.3
Farmers	8	1.5
Clerical occupations	18	3.5
Professional men, managers and capitalists	43	8.5
Domestic and personal service	7	1.4
Public servants	6	1.1
No occupation given	10	1.9
Out of work—temporary	3	.6
Total	510	100.

TABLE III—OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY CLASSES OF PATIENTS' HUSBANDS AT THE BALTIMORE BUREAU FOR CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE, FIRST THREE YEARS ²⁵

Occupational Class	Number of Patients Whose Husbands Fall in Specified Class			
	In the Last (3d) Year		In All Three Years	
	Absolute	Per Cent	Absolute	Per Cent
Skilled and semiskilled workmen in the manufac- turing, building and other industries	56	30.6	186	31.9
Unskilled laborers	40	21.9	121	20.8
Railway (street and steam) workers, chauffeurs, and teamsters	20	10.9	74	12.7
Tradesmen	14	7.7	47	8.1
Domestic and personal service	13	7.1	34	5.8
Public servants	10	5.5	17	2.9
Farmers and fishermen	9	4.9	32	5.5
Professional men, managers, and capitalists	8	4.4	31	5.3
Clerical occupations	8	4.4	30	5.1
Miners	3	1.6	3	0.5
No occupation given	2	1.1	8	1.4
Total	183	100	583	100

²⁴ Maternal Health Association, *Report of Two Years' Work, March, 1928–April 1930*, p. 7.²⁵ *Third Annual Report*, p. 9.

TABLE IV—PREGNANCIES, CHILDREN, AND ABORTIONS AND/ OR MISCARRIAGES OF 583 PATIENTS ADVISED AT THE BALTIMORE BUREAU FOR CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE IN THE FIRST THREE YEARS²⁸

From the Total Number of Women	Who Have Each Had the Number of Pregnancies Indicated in This Column,	And Who Have All Together Had the Total Number of Pregnancies Indicated in This Column,	The Reproductive Results Have Been			
			The Number of Children Indicated in This Column		And Also the Numbers of Abortions and Miscarriages Indicated in this Column	
			Absolute	Per Cent of Pregnancies	Absolute	Per Cent of Pregnancies
10	0	0	0	....	0	....
33	1	33	29	87.9	4	12.1
49	2	98	86	87.8	12	12.2
66	3	198	177	89.4	21	10.6
69	4	276	239	86.6	37	13.4
69	5	345	295	85.5	50	14.5
67	6	402	359	89.3	43	10.7
51	7	357	307	86.0	50	14.0
44	8	352	305	86.7	47	13.3
40	9	360	303	84.2	57	15.8
24	10	240	188	78.3	52	21.7
14	11	154	104	67.5	50	32.5
18	12	216	177	81.9	39	18.1
11	13	143	115	80.4	28	19.6
4	14	56	50	89.3	6	10.7
7	15	105	87	82.9	18	17.1
1	16	16	15	93.7	1	6.3
3	17	51	19	37.3	32	62.7
2	18	36	14	38.9	22	61.1
1	22	22	7	31.8	15	68.2
583	..	3,460	2,876	83.1	584	16.9

is shown in Table VI; while Table VII compares the racial status of patients at Baltimore and Cleveland. These are but samples of data available in American clinical reports.

III. SOME CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

CHANGING PUBLIC OPINION

The changing attitude of all churches save the Catholic has been a notable aspect of recent events. In contrast to the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI are the notable pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference²⁹ of the Federal Coun-

cil of Churches of Christ in America, of the General Convention of American Jewish Rabbis, and of other groups representing the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, Universalist, and Unitarian faiths.

The statement is frequently made in the current literature on birth control that Catholic women are attending the clinics in accordance with their proportion in the local population; but at present no one has sufficient knowledge to make that statement definitively. I am skeptical of its validity, though it is true that they are attending in greater numbers than commonly supposed. Catholic newspapers and circulars, de-

²⁸ *Third Annual Report*, p. 8.

signed exclusively for use of the clergy, are much alarmed at the falling off in church allegiance owing to the Church's

TABLE V—PROPORTION OF STILL BIRTHS AND MISCARRIAGES TO TOTAL PREGNANCIES AMONG THE PATIENTS VISITING THE CLEVELAND CLINICS COMPARED WITH THE PROPORTION OF MISCARRIAGES AND/OR ABORTIONS TO TOTAL PREGNANCIES AMONG THE PATIENTS VISITING THE BALTIMORE BUREAU FOR CONTRACEPTIVE ADVICE

Number of Pregnancies	Proportion of Still Birth and Miscarriages to Total Pregnancies at Cleveland	Proportion of Miscarriages and/or Abortions to Total Pregnancies at Baltimore
1.....	1 : 9.00	1 : 8.25
2.....	1 : 9.60	1 : 8.17
3.....	1 : 9.92	1 : 9.43
4.....	1 : 9.27	1 : 7.46
5.....	1 : 8.22	1 : 6.90
6.....	1 : 6.73	1 : 9.35
7.....	1 : 7.29	1 : 7.14
8.....	1 : 6.40	1 : 7.49
9.....	1 : 7.61	1 : 6.32
10.....	1 : 5.38	1 : 4.62
11.....	1 : 5.84	1 : 3.08
12.....	1 : 4.53	1 : 5.54
13.....	1 : 4.66	1 : 5.11
14.....		1 : 9.33
15.....	1 : 2.00	1 : 5.83
16.....	1 : 2.17	1 : 1.60
17.....		1 : 1.60
18.....		1 : 1.64
22.....		1 : 1.47

TABLE VI—NUMBER OF PATIENTS REFERRED FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES TO THE THREE CLEVELAND MATERNAL HEALTH CLINICS DURING THE FIRST TWO YEARS, MARCH 1928 TO APRIL 1930

Source	Number	Per Cent
Health agencies . . .	284	55.7
Family agencies . . .	70	13.7
Other agencies	51	10.0
Individuals	70	13.7
Private physicians . . .	35	6.9
Total	510	100.0

attitude on this subject. Time alone will decide whether members of the Catholic faith will succeed in outbreeding non-Catholics in the United States, with whatever effect that may have on the survival of certain American institutions; or whether the Catholic Church will find it expedient, as it often has in the past, to modify its position.

Even though the religious opposition to birth control is organizing itself, many formerly indifferent organizations (e.g., Y. M. C. A.) are rallying to the support of birth control. Increasingly, university textbooks on general sociology, on population problems, and on the family are devoting space to the subject; and such discussions are invariably favorable. This is a new phenomenon.

TABLE VII—RACES OF CLINIC PATIENTS AT CLEVELAND AND BALTIMORE

Race	Total		Cleveland		Baltimore	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
White	844	77.2	379	74.4	465	79.8
Negro	249	22.8	131	25.6 ^a	118	20.2 ^b
Total	1,093	100.0	510	100.0	583	100.0

^a While the ratio of negroes to whites was 1 : 2.8 in the clinic population, it was 1 : 14 in the general population of Cleveland.

^b Negroes constituted 14.7 per cent of the population of Baltimore in 1925, the figure for the nearest available date.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

Opinion among physicians is changing slowly but noticeably. I have already mentioned their increased co-operation with the clinics under lay auspices.²⁷ Increasingly, too, they are giving a more adequate contraceptive service in their own private offices and in hospitals to which they are attached. The American Birth Control League is in touch with several thousand coöperating physicians throughout the United States, to whom it refers patients; and this service is in popular demand.

Contrary to statements often published, many medical societies in the United States have declared in favor of legal modifications where necessary. Often, changes in law are not required. The most notable pronouncement during 1931 was that of the New York Academy of Medicine.

Manufacturers and distributors of contraceptives have done much to educate American physicians, one at least issuing literature of a rather high grade. Of one such pamphlet on the technique of contraception, twenty thousand copies have been distributed gratuitously to physicians and senior medical students. The pamphlet is scientifically sound, and summarizes tersely the latest scientific information. No European house issues such high-grade advertising literature.

IMPROVEMENT IN LITERATURE
SINCE 1920

Moreover, in recent years there has been a great improvement in the literature issued on birth control. A survey of some five thousand titles antedating 1920 has convinced me that the over-

whelming body of this material is of little scientific value. There are, of course, exceptions. But in the main, the earlier literature is highly contentious; it labors the obvious, parades the trite as the erudite, and is subjective and normative (usually without adequate basis) rather than objective and quantitative. Not infrequently the authors are just misinformed.

This situation is now rapidly changing; recently there have been issued passable treatises on technique, and a few good volumes on the social, economic, and clinical aspects of birth control.²⁸ Robinson's treatise already mentioned, though not without defects, still holds the field. The present writer has attempted to make contributions essentially to the historical aspects of birth control.

EMBARRASSED LEGISLATORS

The legal situation has not changed materially in recent years. It still hinders scientific research and publication, and retards the free dissemination among physicians of knowledge already accumulated. Numerous bills have been presented to various state legislatures; Margaret Sanger and Mary Ware Dennett have both worked in Washington, the former having recently organized a National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control. Mrs. Dennett has worked for deleting from the obscenity statutes the phrase "prevention of conception;" this stand is known as "clean repeal." Mrs. Sanger has worked for a "doctors only" enabling bill. Formerly she emphasized state legislation rather than national action. The Gillett Bill,²⁹ Mrs. Sanger's "doctors only" bill introduced in 1930-1931, was not re-

²⁷ For a summary of this subject see my recent paper on "The Coöperation of Social Agencies and Physicians with Representative American Birth Control Clinics," *Hospital Social Service*, XXV, 17-30, 1932.

²⁸ See my *Guide to Birth Control Literature*, London: Noel Douglas, 1932. 3/6.

²⁹ S. 4582. See reference above to published hearings.

ported out by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In Massachusetts, during 1930-1931, one of the most conservative "doctors bills" ever presented to any state legislative committee, supported by the best medical talent in the State, was turned down, the committee asking "leave to withdraw" the bill. The Catholic opposition was, as usual, well organized. The Connecticut bill (1930-1931) was likewise unsuccessful, though many newspapers supported it.

Every sign indicates that the educational campaign will continue until the legislators give the people what they want—not drug-store nostrums, but safe, harmless conception control under medical direction. The choice is not between control or no control, but between ineffective and harmful control on the one hand, and effective, harmless control on the other. Birth control, as Lord Dawson once remarked, is here to stay. The question for us is, What use shall we make of it? How shall we guide it?

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

This is not the place to consider recent scientific advances in technique. They have not been insignificant; but indications are that we shall have a much more satisfactory contraceptive within a few decades. One can hardly expect it sooner. It ought to be stated, however, that what we have now is, when used with ordinary common sense, reasonably safe and harmless. Such methods are for the normal. The feeble-minded and insane constitute, in some instances, a sterilization problem. The most approved clinical devices are effective in 90-95 per cent of the cases followed up over two or three years—a degree of success achieved by few medical prescriptions.

Robinson and Himes, to restrict mention to independent workers, have

quantitatively analyzed clinical records. But the first really first-class study will probably be Dr. Marie I. Kopp's forthcoming study of ten thousand cases at the New York clinic. This study has been adequately financed and is under unusually competent supervision. We may therefore expect results worthy of more than ordinary confidence. While it is doubtful if the conclusions of previous studies will be overthrown, new facts, especially on the sex histories of normal married people, will doubtless come to light.

The National Committee on Maternal Health, which is interested especially in research on the medical aspects of human fertility and sterility, is doing, with virtually no encouragement from the large foundations, the most noteworthy research on this subject of any organization in the world. Perhaps the most immediate useful volumes about to be issued under the Committee's auspices are the following:

The Control of Conception: An Illustrated Medical Manual, by Robert L. Dickinson and Louise Stevens Bryant.

The Medical Control of Fertility, by Robert L. Dickinson and Louise Stevens Bryant in collaboration with Samuel R. Meaker, Cecil Voge, Frederick Taussig, and Norman E. Himes.

A Thousand Marriages, by Robert L. Dickinson and Lura E. Beam. (Foreword by Havelock Ellis.) Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1931.

The last volume is not primarily of contraception. The second will discuss contraception, sterilization, abortion, and involuntary sterility, and is intended to be a complete source book. The first is a terse practitioner's manual.

In England, the International Medical Group for the Investigation of Co

traception, and the Birth Control Investigation Committee are also doing good work.³⁰ They are well sponsored; but, like the American organization in the field, could be more useful if they had ampler financial support. Much technical research is going on in Germany, but I have reason to believe that the results may prove less valuable than the American or English studies.

NATIONAL COMMISSION NEEDED

In May 1931, a Population Association was formed, membership in which is open to those who are interested in the scientific investigation of population problems broadly interpreted; especially to those making original contributions to this branch of science. This organization, if it is prudently guided, will doubtless encourage scientific advance—a result

³⁰ Three interesting reports have been issued, which may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, the Hon. Mrs. Marjorie Farrer, 13 Lansdowne Gardens, London, W. 11. Price 6d. each.

more likely, again, if adequate funds are forthcoming.

There is also room, however, for a National Population Commission to advise and assist the Government in the collection and the interpretation of demographic facts, and to advise on various matters of national policy in the light of these facts. While action always implies the possibility of making mistakes, we live in a fool's paradise if we suppose that the Government would avoid all mistakes by not calling in experts. I believe that on the whole we would act collectively more wisely if such assistance were freely offered and as readily welcomed. I am not now thinking of such mooted questions as birth control and sterilization, though such topics are legitimate objects of scientific investigation on the part of any government; but of the fact-collecting process in general. Why should we lag behind Japan, which has had two official commissions; and behind England, which has had three unofficial commissions?

Mr. Norman E. Himes is a former Associate Professor of Economics and Sociology at Clark University, and sometime Fellow of the Social Science Research Council. He is the author of numerous articles on population and on the history of contraception.

The Child as a Member of the Family

By JAMES S. PLANT

THE family group is no less than society in microcosm. To discuss the child as a member of the family permits our entry into practically every aspect of life—individual or social. For present discussion, selection of material is therefore imperative. This selection must rather arbitrarily depend upon the point of view of the writer, and in no sense can be thought of as meaning that other topics or points of view are of less significance.

INTERESTING SIDE ISSUES

A discussion of the origins of the phenomena considered is most inviting, but impossible. Just now that we have persuaded ourselves of our freedom from the dominance of the moral issues involved in the various social institutions, nothing seems more interesting than the consideration of the origin of the family constellation. That is, were it today possible to wipe out the family and all those elements of cultural lag that would otherwise so surely reestablish it, would an essentially similar structure be reared? It is difficult to assay what the family means to its members unless we know how much of the present situation is inherent in the institution itself, and how much is but our ingrained dependence upon the family for certain satisfactions merely because no other institution now offers these. For these questions there is for the present no answer, beyond one based upon highly debatable assumptions.

We must here also exclude those matters involved in the changes that are now occurring in family life and relationships. (One wonders how much there is of actual change, beyond

the greater social sensitization to phenomena of stress that accompanies expansion of news channels.) There is another factor of change which we must also ignore—the growth of each family. Families within themselves grow, change, and develop from day to day just as does the institution forever show trends. Rather brusquely, then, we seize the family at one point in both its individual and its cultural progress.

This leaves for discussion little beyond an abstraction—the Family. For this there is brilliant support from clinical experience. Patients come to us precisely because they feel that their families are not what the family should be. Particularly with children is there a widely accepted and crystallized concept of a highly integrated and mutually sympathetic group made up of a father, a mother, and one or more of their own children—which is the family. Interestingly enough, this concept is much the same whether or not the child has had satisfactory, or even any, family experience.

Thus we take freedom to cut our field to a certain definite pattern, and confine ourselves to the question of what actual use the family is in the personality formation of the child, and what the child in turn contributes to the entire family group. Under these two headings we can proceed on a rather highly schematized basis—realizing that life resents any such treatment and that this is but a literary device.

STATUS OF THE CHILD

The subject of the origin of status has been little considered. There ex-

ists a fair literature on status breakdown and on the threats at status, as many psychiatrists have felt this the important mechanism in the production of certain psychoses.

It is the family which gives status to the child. For example we have concerning the Hebrew in the Old Testament that such a person would be a "chosen person" in the eyes of the Lord. The position or place of this Hebrew was known generations, if you please, before he was born. There were no questions as to stature, I.Q., where he lived, or how much money he had. The fact that he was born in a certain family gave him status. Every social worker is amazed at the craving of the adopted or foster child for his *own* parents—no matter how they may have treated him. There is here the question "Who am I?" Factors of cultural lag perhaps bulk rather large here, but the practical matter is this need that the child has for establishment of status through the knowledge of his own parents—through some satisfaction as to "who" he is, regardless of "what" he might do, "what" are his abilities or possible accomplishments, or on "which" side of the street he lives.

The family pattern appears in certain religious formulations. Here is this concept of ourselves as God's children. No matter what our intelligence, our riches, our other possessions or their lack—God loves us all and is the Father of each of us. Significantly, certain cultures—such as a caste system—where status is inherently woven into the entire social fabric, have developed religious systems with much less emphasis upon the family pattern. Whether this represents some inherent craving on the part of the individual or the setting up of religious patterns that are no more than rather naturally conditioned by the experience of the

individual, is beyond our present limits.

There is ample evidence in clinic and agency of the desire on the part of every child to have the feeling that he knows his own family. This is more than the need for affection, being shown by adopted or foster children in groups of rich and real affectional expression.

THE CHILD'S QUESTIONS

One might pictorialize this in a characterization of the questions which every child asks and demands answered. In outline fashion, it is as though every child had to find answer for "*Who am I?*" and "*What am I?*"¹ A satisfactory answer to the former concerns status, and, I venture, is precisely the origin of status. It is answered only by the child's own family (or perhaps by the religious philosophy where this has a definite family pattern). One does not "send back" one's baby. Quite regardless of size, appearance, or attributes, the child has a place in the family because of "who" it is. It is this question which the early orphaned or adopted child so sincerely seeks to have answered satisfactorily.

There are later questions—"What am I?"; "Where do I live?"; "What intelligence, what popularity, what power, what character of parents have I?" These latter questions to a greater or less extent intrude themselves upon

¹ In an effort at further recognizing the qualitative differences involved in these two distinctly differing adjustments, the author has built for his work a terminology which is given here as a matter of interest, rather than as any final solution of the situation. He uses the terms "security" and "insecurity" to cover the varying degrees of satisfaction in answer to the question of status. The terms "adequacy" and "inferiority" are similarly used for the matters involved in "what I am." The issue is rarely clear-cut, but the distinctions, however vague, are always present. Any real exposition of the problems involved would require a much more voluminous statement than can be essayed here.

the former, so that, on occasion, a family "rejects" a child if it is not a boy, or if the family had looked upon the coming individual as meaning no more than a chance that there be another generation of Smiths at the favored college. To the extent of this intrusion is the matter of status threatened. The healthiest of early parent-child relationships rests upon the family's complete preoccupation with this question as to "who" the child is. To a large extent the satisfactory answer for these other questions is found by the child in his various social adjustments outside of the family.

UNSATISFACTORY STATUS

Sincerely involved here, is the child who in answering this question "*Who am I*" finds himself a member of a definitely less advantaged race. Nor is there here any contradiction of the acceptance of the family's rôle in the establishment of status. The common factor is that there is nothing "reasonable," nothing that "I can do anything about" in the question under discussion. It is this which the child senses and which so baffles him—which he so bitterly fights in his conduct. Those of us in children's work have often mourned our *naïveté* in accepting the notion that by answering the question as to "*What am I?*" we are answering that of "*Who am I?*" One does not solve the restless anxiety of the orphan by making him captain of the football team or by assuring him rapid progress in school. One wonders whether the marked emphasis upon the family aspects of religious philosophy on the part, for instance, of the Negro is not a reflection of precisely this search for satisfactory status in a situation where family ties were so rudely broken.

The question naturally arises in family life—How is the parents' recog-

nition of the place that they give to the child because it is *their* child to be caught by the child? This is difficult of accurate answer. Certain parents with one clasp to the bosom, as it were, satisfactorily convey the feeling to the child; for others the task is one of long and difficult accomplishment. David Levy has certainly come close to this point in his studies of the importance of mutually satisfying breast feeding. The question is somewhat the same as that of the parents learning to play with a child. Certain adults seem to "know how"; for those who do not, the wisest and most comprehensive advice seems only further to excite the bull in the china closet.

ADJUSTMENT TO PERSONAL AUTHORITY

A second family satisfaction for the child lies in his adjustment to "personal authority"—a term to cover personal relationships plus the situation that the other person has potentialities beyond the power and the arena of the individual. That is, by "authority" one does not here mean discipline, although the latter is one of the common modes of expressing the former. The word is here used rather in the sense that (there is imminent about us from birth to death a power that is greater than our own.)

One may speak of personal authority to cover the parent's relation to the child and all those adult relationships involving personal attributes and interests that are disparate, such as that of the husband and wife, or that are power relationships, as in the case of employer and employee. One may speak of social authority to cover the relationship of the cultural pattern or group to the individual, in that he may at their will be sent to war, put to death, made to wear certain types of clothes, and so forth. One may speak

of cosmic authority to cover our relationship with extra-human forces, such as earthquakes, lightning, death, and the like. A growing philosophy that emphasizes the untrammelled development of the individual seems blind to the fact that this individual is forever in the presence of power greater than his own and with interests quite disparate from his, whether that power happens at any particular time to "wish" actually to employ that prerogative or not.

VALIDATIONS OF AUTHORITY

The validators, or criteria for enforcement, of personal authority are age, possession, and idiomatic relationship. The validators of social authority are numbers, accomplishment, and acclaim. The validating factor of cosmic authority is its essential "unreasonableness" in the sense that its operation apparently transcends human control or rational planning.

The young child listens to the parent because she is older. "My mother is older, therefore she knows better." Age is of the greatest importance in all children's play. As the older child is orienting himself to new demands, social rather than personal, he says, "My mother is older, therefore she does not know better—she does not understand our age."

Without perhaps actually owning our children, we, as parents, yet attain all of the symbols of such ownership. Thus we feed, clothe, and bundle about the infant as we do other family chat-tels; and much of the authority relationship is that of "I am *your* mother; you are *my* child."

The third validator is termed idiomatic relationship, in the sense that some peculiar tie exists between parent and child that differs qualitatively from that between either and any other person. One harks back here to what was

said as to the establishment of status. It is precisely those factors that enter into the question "Who are you?" that have that unreasonable or irrational element that is the basis of idiomatic personal relationship. It is possible that certain identifications play a large rôle here, so that I care idiomatically for a person who seems to me to have certain traits in peculiar relation to certain traits that I consider my own. Whether this statement is anything beyond the rationalization of a situation, is beyond our present purview.

Thus the child's adjustments to personal authority come to mean his early conditioning to those factors of age, possession, and idiomatic relationship that enter into personal relationships throughout life. This patently rests a considerable burden upon parents that they act as though they were grown up, instead of merely proclaiming they are; that they show that possession of children is simply a formular expression for their own development and not an end in itself; that idiomatic relationship actually plays its sincere rôle of adding to the child's security.

CHILDHOOD ADJUSTMENT PREPARES FOR OLDER LIFE .

If it is thus during this family period that the child obtains his patterns for a varied number of later personal relationships, then is it all the more certain that his patterns of married and family life have much of their source here. This comes out of our realization that the reactions to personal authority attain in childhood the elasticity (in the sense of resisting change) of habits.

Is this adjustment to personal authority a necessity to which the family pattern so beautifully lends itself; or is our whole emphasis on personal authority but a rationalization of the existence of the family pattern? We

have no intention of considering an answer here. This much does seem beyond doubt. A large number of our life experiences, family or otherwise, are with one or another form of personal authority. Some of the concepts involved in personal authority are of such importance to us as to make their appearance in our more complicated social patterns. There are many social groups which accept leadership on the basis of age. Possession and the notion of idiomatic relationship (the dependence upon the accident of birth as the basis of government) have, of course, very largely appeared. One hazards that at least it is possible to consider the family as constituting an excellent answer to the person's need for learning to adjust to certain aspects of personal relationships.

EARLY FAMILY INFLUENCES ON THE CHILD

The family further provides certain experiences in "protected" competition for the child. This so sincerely follows what has been said that there is little need here for extended exposition. In scheme, one says that the family emphasizes and exploits the child's strong traits, whereas in social competition—struggle, teasing, and so forth—it is the Achilles' heel that is sought. The early period of socialization during which the family artificially to an extent controls the situation in the way of selecting toys, games, and playmates, probably increases the trepidation with which the child looks upon his entrance into the field of unprotected competition, but perhaps gives a certain sense of adequacy to the child's entire competitive process. At least, this period of protection exists and is heartily used by the child. Its high necessity and its essential character must await treatises far more philosophic than the present.

Further, the child looks to the family for practically his entire introduction to academic learning. The child enters kindergarten thoroughly conditioned in sense perception, procedures manipulative of his environment, and the symbolization of experience through language. What part this plays in the child's school or later academic adjustment, no one knows. Perhaps with further follow-up of nursery school products, where certainly some at least, of these academic introductions are in the hands of the school rather than of the family, some insight into this problem will be developed. The accident of position throws a fair burden of the introduction to academic learning upon the family group. Beyond a statement of the importance of the subject, nothing can be said at the moment.

There are other functions in the formation of the child's personality which are undertaken by most family groups, but concerning which one might easily question whether some other group would not the better handle them. For instance, one is rather certain that the so-called habit training (physical matters, as eating and sleeping) must occur in the earlier years of life. There is no evidence that there is anything of significant value in the family group for this part of training or formation. Indeed, there are, without question, certain factors of close personal tie that seem to militate strongly against the family as being the best place for such training.

THE CHILD'S SEXUAL ADJUSTMENT

A further consideration develops from the child's close approximation, in family life, to the problems of sexual adjustment. Were children brought up entirely outside of any group that resembled the family, is it not conceivable that the early impingement of

sexual problems would be largely obviated? Without in any way entering questions of advantage or disadvantage, we recognize the excessive importance given to the subject by young children, together with the sharp intrusion of moral issues. Modern psychiatrists and parents seem agreed as to the dynamic nature of false standards and notions as to sex amongst children. The arrival of new children and the sharp, "moralistic" reactions of parents who thus express their own difficulties, do much to stimulate a marked interest in a problem that can be comprehended, if at all, only considerably later in life.

In view of the pervasive character of the sexual drive and the unusually rich sensory supply of the external sex organs, one somewhat doubts that a mere social adjustment would eradicate the problems thus engendered; but any consideration of the child in the family must take cognizance of the great extent to which the natural phenomena of family life crowd upon the relatively young child some of the more disturbing connotations of the whole matter.

Further, we must recognize the stresses produced in the child through those standards of the family which make it difficult for him to conform his individual trends so that they comply with the "front" which the family must maintain. The difference between what the family experience actually offers and what (to its own members and its neighbors) it is supposed to be offering, produces personal conflicts which give rise to many neuroses in adults and are the source of acute conduct disorders in children.*

It is, of course, possible that any social institution requires these criteria which are in the nature of unattainable creeds or tenets. Or it is possible that

the difficulty lies rather in the stresses produced in the family by the great changes through which it is itself developing. At any rate, we have here another of those unsolvable conflicts between what the individual so much needs and what the social institution so much needs.

CHANGES IN MODERN FAMILY LIFE

In spite of the self-imposed limitations of the introduction, a word must be said here of the changes which are occurring in modern family life. We probably have little or no accurate conception as to what these are. Some sort of centrifugal force seems at work, pulling the functions of family life away from the center. We would guess that, in the end, this needs to affect the relationship of the child in the family very little. In what exposition of the matter we have made, the reader will note that those matters which have been thought of as sincerely and perhaps solely family matters are those that can be imparted to the child in relatively brief time. It is conceivable that while the decentralization of the family reduces the temporal contact of the parents with the child, there will be a net gain in throwing upon other agencies a task which they may possibly perform better than can the family.

A second widely recognized change is frequently stated thus—that if families are to be held together and if the functions of the family are being transferred to other agencies, then there must be an increase in the "affectional ties." In fact, it has been stated that such a strengthening is now occurring. Logical as this seems, it has been our own experience that persons have little ability to distinguish between phenomena and the symbols of those phenomena; so that with the manifest symbols of the unifying affectional ties dis-

* Note some of Healy's expositions of delinquency based on this conflict.

appearing, the affectional ties are themselves weakening. This is but a personal experience in clinic work, and, to my mind, represents only a transitional stage. That the family group of the future shall attain a high degree of unity upon the basis of affection seems logical and to be expected—not to be doubted on the basis of some small experience with a transitional period.

THE FAMILY

In brief catalogue we have considered what the family means to the child. It is quite as necessary that we question, in equally summary fashion, what the child means to the family.

Families have continuity; there is a certain integrity in their development which gainsays crude intrusion. The child here loses his individuality to become but the purveyor of those changes or similarities to which the family must hold. Compromise results—a sort of casuistic day-by-day adjustment that allows no final victory. True, certain children show such promise that the family is willing to “allow the child its own individuality.” True again, and more commonly, the child is so plastic that he is molded to the demands of the family with ridiculous ease. Solution comes here because of a chance combination, and in no sense vitiates the keenness of the normal conflict which there is between the unfolding of the individual potentialities and the molding tendencies of the group into which he happens to arrive. A family dies if it does not have children—and writhes if its children do not continue the pattern it has so far constructed. Undoubtedly the tendency for the so-called “great family” to break into the component “small families”, has markedly lessened this conflict. Yet it essentially remains.

CHILDREN NECESSARY FOR FAMILY NEEDS

As the family needs children for its further pattern, so, all the more, do adults need children. Perhaps the most frequent statement of the adolescent child (in some difficulty) to me is, “No child of *mine* shall have this experience!” With our earliest integrations, we begin to look to our coming children as mending the broken pattern, catching up the lost thread, living the unfulfilled dreams. The importance of this is that, fairly early in childhood, those stresses are developed that look forward to marriage and resultant children for their easement. Of corollary importance is the realization that in large part the parental stresses upon the child’s life are not of recent or evanescent character, being rather the expression of needs developed through the many years of the parents’ earlier lives.

While there is similar evidence in many of the social agencies, perhaps the child guidance clinic particularly has brought to light the extent to which adults look upon their children’s lives as the fulfillment of dreams—the answer to unrequited hopes. There is nothing here that arises *de novo*, as it were, out of married life, but a matter that apparently drives the individual to the construction of a family as being the simplest and easiest mode of resolving a long-developing stress.

Thus does the family—thus does the adult—look rather hungrily upon the coming child as the satisfaction of a need. It would seem to us that precisely here do we have those factors which would tend to preserve the family as an institution, even under the stress of much change in the cultural pattern. At least we can somewhat confidently postulate some such structure within society as will allow in-

dividuals to feel a certain possessive relationship towards young, growing persons.

In the earlier sections of this article the family was pictured as the answer to certain needs or hungers of the growing child. The other side of the picture we are seeing now.

(1) The family very likely tends to overprotection of the child. In fact much of the recent psychiatric literature has stressed this as the origin of much that is unhealthy in our mental development. There is in each of us a large component of this desire for protection from new experiences. It is thus easy that we turn back to the family rather than construct our individual developments. More often than is usually admitted, this is a safety device protecting the individual from attempting the impossible.

(2) The family, in return as it were for this security, exacts a certain compliance to the pattern of the group or the needs of the parent. Out of this factor grow some of the most stubborn of family difficulties. Heredity tends to breed true to the type, whereas often it is the parent's chief preoccupation that the child be different—that the child shall escape what the adult recognizes as his cross.

In these matters of conflict between the interests of the child and those of the adult, the most inviting and paralyzing of occupations is that of considering the moral aspects of the problem; we enjoy beyond words, placing matters in the right or wrong column. This is a futile procedure. The point here is simply that adults must have children (vicariously if impossible of their own attainment)—*must* pick up the lost thread or mend the broken one. Nor do we see this as originating in family life. It is apparently a fundamental craving of the personality, for which the family pat-

tern seems to give simple and accessible answer.

CONCLUSION

This is not a chapter on therapeutics; probably no such chapter can be sanely written at this time. Much is being tried, and while the modern theory is all along the line of the untrammelled development of the child, there usually is really a sort of blundering and casuistic compromise that catches the matters of import as well as can be. The effort in this paper has been to express those cravings on the part of individuals which one sees in clinic practice. There has been some effort to throw into relief those factors which have interested the writer as being the ones which rather naturally might build up the family from disparate individuals and which at the same time, tragically enough, throw these individuals into rather sharp disturbance over definitely conflicting interests.

One more word: The family has been through an interesting siege over the last seventy-five years. With the "scientific awakening" of the middle of the last century there was considerable question as to the origin of the family. Here there was no assay of the changes going on in the family, but rather only the question as to whether there was anything essentially immoral in these changes. Thus if one goes back to the first questionings of the family, he finds such an assay of its beginnings as would tend to throw discredit upon any belief in its divine origin.

This state of question soon changed so that there developed, and still exists, a large group who say that the family is disappearing, but that due to cultural lag, man has not as yet realized this. He is holding on to his beloved toy in childish blindness to the fact that he has outgrown it. Thus a rather im-

personal skepticism has been replaced by a sort of amused tolerance.

Now another school has arisen. With its recognition of the part that parent-child relationships play in this, it warns us of the positive dangers to individual development that lie within the family group. It is interesting to note that whereas the first step in the assault upon the family was not an attack on the family as such, but upon the essentially moral questions involved in its admitted change, this last school has returned to the period previous to that step—as certain in its dicta as were those previous to the “scientific awakening.” The only difference is that while those earlier proponents were certain of the divine sanction of the institution, the modern savant is equally certain of its parasitic sapping of the true god of individual development.

The client today quite as shamefacedly “admits” loving his parents and depending upon them as did he, one hundred years ago, “admit” his abhorrence of his family group. Many of us seem to forget that individual liberty is not longer freedom if it is tyrannically enforced.

All of these stages of question have had this in common—that they have foreseen the ultimate destruction of the family. The author is in no mind to say that this will not occur. However, he does feel that this theory has far too little taken into account the yearnings of the individuals who go to make up the group. If it be true that the individuals within the family quite feel that they need this group for fulfilling their own life purposes, then the family will continue as such, in spite of our most intricate and death-dealing theory.

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Gainfully Employed Women in the Family

By VIVA BOOTHE

IN ENTERING upon any discussion involving the adjustment of human beings to an evolving social order, it is well to keep in mind that two fundamental types of phenomena arising from the interaction of human beings and social institutions are likely to be occurring simultaneously, and that it is difficult at any one period of time to distinguish between the two as to cause and effect. In the first place, changes in the set of circumstances under which human beings live produce changes in the behavior and in the thinking of individuals. In the second place, or at the same time, changes in ideas and attitudes arising from changes in behavior necessitated by the circumstances of life, tend to become accepted as standards, and, in time, the older institutional forms come to accommodate themselves to the changed ideas and behavior.

CHANGED MEANS TO ATTAIN THE SAME ENDS

In any highly organized society such as ours, individuals reach adult life with a set of ideas regarding marriage and the family, for example, which are theirs by inheritance from the social environment and not theirs through extended experience in living in the particular institutions founded upon and dominated by those ideas. If the circumstances of life remain unchanged, or are only slightly changed, from the circumstances under which the prevailing ideas regarding marriage and the family and woman's place in the whole scheme of things originated, little conflict will arise between behavior and socially trans-

mitted ideas. When, however, change in the circumstances of living force modifications in behavior, in order that the same satisfactions and values achieved under earlier conditions may continue to be achieved under the changed conditions, then changes in ideas and in institutional forms are inevitable. It is not that the ends sought are changed, but only that the means of achieving the ends are modified.

When it is once understood that habits of thought and institutional forms have a way of persisting long after their day of usefulness has ceased to exist, even though in time they may come to be the means of thwarting the very interests that they formerly served, what is happening in the so-called woman movement, of which the entrance of women into industry and the professions is one manifestation, may be regarded as the beginning of modifications in the old standards and procedures necessary to achieve the same ends formerly achieved, and not at all as a change in the ends themselves. As stated by the author in the preface to *THE ANNALS* volume on "Women in the Modern World":

Women are essentially the same today as they have always been (and with the development of modern psychological knowledge may turn out to be much less different from men than was formerly supposed), and their problems are different only in the details of their manifestation. To seek satisfaction of fundamental desires and self-expression in activity which is enjoyed in the presence of and in association with one's fellow human beings has ever been the impelling force which has accounted for most that has happened in the

past to both men and women. The fact that in the course of time attitudes of mind and standard ways of procedure with reference to the normal and proper activities of each sex in securing these satisfactions have developed, is only to state that the human mind has a tendency to act that way, and in no way justifies a particular set of attitudes, nor gives them a claim to permanency.¹

IDEAS OF WOMAN'S SPHERE BELONG TO PAST ORDER

The prevailing ideas and attitudes held by both men and women regarding the position and sphere of women in society and the proper organization and activities of the family and the home, are largely the product of the economic and social arrangements that prevailed prior to the industrial revolution, when society was organized primarily around the home as the producing unit, and before standards of value had become so definitely identified with a price-and-profit economy. Under these conditions the contributions of both men and women alike to family support were measured in terms of goods created and of satisfactions given, and not indirectly in terms of the price their products would command in the market as is the case today.

Under such conditions the achievements of women were recognized as productive on the same basis as were the achievements of men, and the productivity of woman was generally regarded as proper and desirable, and in no way jeopardized her prestige in the group nor stood in her way, in the case of the young and unmarried, of achieving a husband and family of her own. On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that evidences of dexterity in productive activity were,

in this system, of positive significance in connection with marriageability.

The woman in this system was at the same time wife, mother, and co-manager of the social destinies of the household. She was not only economically self-supporting, but she contributed to the support of the family as well. Thus, economic, social, and leisure-time activities were coördinated into a social whole that was intimately connected with the daily process of living, and was both emotionally and intellectually satisfying. This is not to say that all individuals under the domestic system were completely adjusted to the system or to one another in marriage, and that this social structure left nothing to be desired; but at least there was consistency between the prevailing ideas regarding woman's sphere and family organization, and the mode of behavior of the majority of individuals with respect to the family. Thus the basis for many of the present-day conflicts was absent.

Under the old order, woman's economic contribution to the family was made, as was that of the man, in the home and only in conjunction with that of the other members of the family whose contribution was equally necessary, so that antagonistic attitudes arising from difference in the money value of the contributions could not arise. Nor did the early situation provide a choice between the so-called feminine occupations in the home and the chance to make an economic contribution by selling her services for money. Furthermore, this system, in so far as it offered no economic or social existence outside of marriage, tended to crystallize thinking around early marriage as the only possible avenue of life, and the early and rapid appearance of offspring tended to make for relative permanency in the marriage relationship.

¹ *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXLIII, May 1929.

CHANGES DUE TO INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The situation today has entirely changed. Modern industrial processes have robbed the home of almost every vestige of its former economic function. The loss of usefulness, so far as middle-class women and families are concerned, had its origin in the industrial revolution and the dominance of the capitalistic organization of society. The husband followed productive activity out of the home into the factory. Thus, to quote Beatrice Hinker:

If the profound changes that occur in human society can be accounted for solely by surface movements, then it would be nearer the explanation of modern marriage difficulties to say that the seeds of these difficulties were sown when men began to go outside the home for their occupational interest.¹

The woman stayed behind, lost contact with her husband's productive interests, and in time her activities came to be limited largely to unproductive domestic labor, or to a life of ease and idleness. Women thus became more dependent and helpless, and this dependence was crystallized by the nineteenth century into the "woman-in-the-home" ideal, which, once having taken root became the basis for later rationalizations as to the differentiation of functions between the sexes. These in turn became the basis for future arguments in favor of the rightness of the prevailing notions.

In the present system, the work left for women to perform in the home consists largely of services. In the homes of the well-to-do, labor-saving devices have reduced even the service contribution of the woman to a minimum, and this service contribution is frequently made by a paid servant. In

the homes of the wage-earning classes the limitation of the family budget has kept modern industrial service appliances from invading the home on any large scale, but here, too, the work done in the home consists mainly of services, which, although a contribution to family well-being, cannot be said to add materially to the family standard of living, even though the good management of the wife may add a hundred dollars or so to the purchasing power of the husband's salary.

The creation of products has passed from the home into the factory, and the ability of men to provide the necessary products for their families has become indissolubly bound up with the wage system. Under present conditions, if the old dictum "The woman's place is in the home" is to be maintained, the husband must become the sole economic contributor to the support of his wife and family in a system where tenure of employment is increasingly insecure, and the wage that he is able to achieve, all too frequently, fails to support the family in the style that modern civilization constantly holds out as a possibility. Thus arises the conflict. The old standard dictates a parasitic, nonproductive, childbearing existence for the wife, and further implies that she content herself with lower standards of material comfort and well-being for herself and her family than her environment encourages her to desire. At the same time, modern industry offers an avenue whereby she may receive remunerative employment outside the home to supplement the insufficient wage of the husband or father and the pressure of both need and desire disposes her to take the opportunity.

The departure from accepted standards is made reluctantly at first. The pressure of family need justifies it in individual cases, and as justifiable in individual cases, multiply and the num

¹ "Changing Marriage, a By-Product of Industrialism," *Survey*, Vol. 57, pp. 236-239.

ber involved increases, others join the ranks for many and varied reasons. As woman goes into occupations outside the home in increasing numbers, society, which at first questioned if it did not condemn, begins to condone, and in the end concedes the desirability of the change. The desirability once conceded, other social arrangements affecting the details of marriage and the family, which will continue to remain a central phenomenon in the lives of both men and women, are likely to accommodate themselves to the changing conception of woman's proper sphere. Indeed, there are already many significant manifestations of the fact that this process is already on the way.

WOMEN WORK FROM NECESSITY

It should be emphasized again that the entrance of women into industry and the professions—particularly into industry—has not been the result of conscious and deliberate revolt on the part of women against prevailing social attitudes, which for the most part they hold in common with society, but rather a change in attitude due primarily to new experiences forced upon them in the process of living in the present order. Dr. Gwendolyn Hughes Berry, in her study, "Mothers in Industry," found that of 728 working mothers in Philadelphia who were asked why they went back to work after they were married, 29 per cent answered, "My husband wasn't making enough"; 22 per cent, "My husband is dead"; 14 per cent, "My husband is sick"; 13 per cent, "He left me"; 11 per cent, "He wouldn't support me"; and only 11 per cent, "I'd rather work."³

Again, of 345 married women apply-

ing to the employment service of the Young Women's Christian Association in Denver, Colorado, during the months of May, June, July, and August, 1928, 90 per cent were working because of economic necessity. According to the report, "74 per cent of them were without a husband's support, while more than one half of those whose husbands contributed found the contributions irregular or inadequate to needs. One half of the women reporting had no income but their own earnings; almost one half had children under 16 years of age." Preference was given as a reason for asking for employment by only 30 of these 345 married women. Of the women who worked from preference, only 7 had no support from a husband, while 22 had such support, although in 3 cases it was irregular.⁴

From the same report, further evidence of the pressure of economic necessity as the determining factor in the quest of women for jobs is revealed. Of 103 married women applying to one department store for work in the same city, 86, or about 84 per cent, gave economic necessity as a reason, and only 8, or 7.7 per cent of the number, worked from preference. Of those reporting economic necessity, 36 were married, and 42 were widowed, divorced, or separated from their husbands. Thirty-two of the 36 married women whose husbands contributed to their support reported that it was necessary for them to work. Of these women who sought work although their husbands were contributing to the family income, nearly one third of those reporting had children under 16 years of age, while of those without a husband's support, 45 per cent had young children.⁵

³ "Mothers in Industry," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXLIII, pp. 315-323, May 1929.

⁴ Brown, Emily C., "A Study of Two Groups of Married Women Applying for Jobs," *Women's Bureau Bulletin* 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Facts such as these, although admittedly incomplete, furnish evidence that a large proportion of the women working outside the home who are or have been married are working to contribute to the support of themselves and their families, if indeed they are not solely dependent upon their own earnings.

With these facts as a basis for judging motives of married wage-earning women, the fact that an increasing number of married women are found in industry strongly suggests that the force of economic pressure upon those who have sought marriage and home as a career is responsible for their outside employment. In 1920 almost two million of the eight million women employed were married; that is, about 9 per cent of the total in 1920, as compared with only 4.6 per cent in 1890, 5.6 per cent in 1900, and 10.7 per cent in 1910. These figures do not include the widowed and divorced, who probably constituted an equally large proportion of the total, and who are also responsible for the support of others.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY THE CONTROLLING FACTOR

From the factual data at hand as to motives of married working women, it does not appear that preference has come to dominate, as yet, the work activity of women in the wage-earning classes. There is some evidence to indicate that even where preference is given as a reason, extra money is desired for the purpose of affording a more adequate life in the home rather than to provide an escape. Dr. Hughes, for instance, found that the seventy-nine working mothers in Philadelphia who worked from preference stated as their reasons that: (a) it gave them extra money to spend as they pleased; (b) it gave a means of

more stimulating contacts as well as a means of raising the standard of living; (c) it filled in leisure time not needed in housekeeping, and helped the husband. Helping the husband, she reports, was usually associated with the desire to buy a home or put money in the bank.

That economic necessity is as yet the controlling factor in the wage-earning of most women is further attested by a recent summary of the Women's Bureau of all the studies thus far made as to the contribution of women to family support—both married and single women combined. This work summarized 20 studies made during the period from 1888 to 1921, and includes 58,630 women. Of this number, more than 30,000, or 52.5 per cent, contributed all their earnings to the family; over 22,000, or 38.7 per cent, contributed part of their earnings, and only 5,000, or 8.8 per cent, contributed nothing.⁶

The same report gives census data for four cities in 1920 concerning the number of breadwinners in the families of 31,481 employed women. In 21 per cent of the cases the woman was the sole breadwinner in the family. The report continues by observing that

it is not surprising that 82 per cent of those widowed and divorced should have been without male assistance in the support of the family, but that 11.2 per cent of the women reported as married and 20.8 per cent of the single women also had no male help is remarkable. Of the single women, 1 in 5 was without assistance of father or brother, and 1 in 2 was the sole breadwinner in their families.⁷

As yet, then, working women are likely to regard their out-of-the-home activities as a necessity and in no sense a right and privilege. For the ma-

⁶ Peterson, Agnes L., "What the Wage-Earning Woman Contributes to Family Support," *Women's Bureau Bulletin* 75.

⁷ *Ibid.*

jority, such work is still a means to an end, and the end most frequently sought is marriage. Marriage, motherhood, and the family is still the career; work outside the home before marriage is likely to be connected with the quest for marriage, and after marriage, to be a means of maintaining the home and the family. This is not to say that at some future date and for a larger number of women, the idea of careers and independence and personality development may not become more pronounced.

Although it is not new for women to make a definite economic contribution to family support, the conditions under which she makes the contribution are of considerable significance as affecting the type of family organization. There is a great difference between wives and husbands working together on a common industrial enterprise in the home, and both men and women leaving home to work independently. The old conception of the family as a unit of operation on a production basis, to be sure, was abandoned when husbands left home to enter industry; now the migration of women into industry and the professions would seem to complete the overthrow of the earlier form.

It is probably not amiss to ask in this connection, however, if it is the family or only the form which family organization has acquired that is being jeopardized. It is quite conceivable that the family as a group of interacting individuals may be reconstructed around central interests other than that of physical productive activity in the home, and it is not altogether inconceivable that we may come to regard the economic independence of women as less demoralizing, certainly to women if not indeed to the family, than the old order where marriage grew to be regarded as a means of livelihood.

WORKING WIVES IN THE INDUSTRIAL GROUP

The conditions and the attitudes surrounding single women in industry are so different from those surrounding women in the professions that it is necessary at the outset to separate these two classes of woman workers in any discussion of the effect of work outside the home on the chances for marriage. In the first place, the attitude of both men and women in the industrial group is vastly more tolerant toward the out-working of women than is the case in the group from which professional women come. For the masses in the wage-earning group, less antagonism and friction arises between the sexes regarding the out-working of women, because: (1) the out-working of women has come to be accepted by both men and women as necessary to sustain life; (2) the differential wage in industry in favor of men still leaves a vestige of the feeling of superiority for the males; and (3) women in this group do not generally blame husbands for the inadequacy of the wage received.

The importance of the attitude of wives toward husbands who are unable to provide the necessary wage for a decent living, in determining the attitude of men toward women's working, cannot be too strongly stressed. The woman's attitude is to be explained, of course, by the fact that the failure of the husband and father's wage to meet the needs of the family is so widespread among this class of society that the deficiency is not attributed by the wife to any fault of the husband, but rather to the system. Thus wives can be genuinely proud of husbands who cannot support them, and husbands, on the other hand, can accept the help of wives without chagrin.

This attitude, particularly on the part of working wives, was noted by Caroline Manning in her study, "The Immigrant Woman and Her Job,"⁸ when she says that only occasionally was the question of the woman's economic responsibility met by such replies as "Husband no good," or "Husband doesn't like to work." Much more frequently the answer was, she says, "A good man but job no good." Miss Manning concluded from her contacts with this group that "the wife's double job of contributing to family maintenance and keeping house was accepted as a matter of course, as if it were only natural that husbands could not make enough to support their families."

The causes for this more liberal attitude among the working masses need not concern us further here, but the fact of its existence is of considerable consequence in connection with marriage possibilities for the working woman. As pointed out above, the entrance of women into industry has not been associated, for the most part, with any idea on the part of the women of a separate and independent career apart from a family life, nor has her experience in industry thus far seemed to affect to any great extent her chances for marriage, regardless of what it may have done to her chances for achieving a satisfactory family organization after marriage. The spinster is not an outstanding phenomenon of the working classes, though she is by no means unknown there, and early marriages are the rule and not the exception. Propinquity plays a large part in Cupid's activities, and the out-working of girls, except in those cases where the sexes are rigidly segregated, tends to facilitate acquaintance and widens the sphere of choice.

⁸ *Women's Bureau Bulletin* 74.

VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF COLLEGE WOMEN

In the group above the wage-earning level, however, certain attitudes of both men and women toward self-support and independence tend to postpone marriage and frequently to eliminate it altogether. The postponing of marriage is associated in the higher-income groups with the prolonged period of education for women. Furthermore, with the definite vocational slant now popular in education for both men and women, the attention of girls is focused on the desirability of preparation for economic self-sufficiency, even though marriage may still be the recognized objective. The four years usually required for a college education, if they are spent in a women's college, means that for many young women, contacts with suitable male companions are difficult; and after college, vocations must be pursued where opportunity permits, which is not always where masculine contacts can be easily made.

Thus, many a young college woman, without any conscious or deliberate taboo on marriage, comes to find herself, after three or four years of vocational experience, with something of a vested interest in her job. This fact, combined with the fact that she has passed the age when she falls in love with the most abandon, tends to make her less concerned with men, and considerably less attractive to them. Then again, if she has had any success in her vocation, her salary is more likely to meet her needs than is that of the wage-earning industrial woman, and indeed, it is likely to be somewhere in the same range as those of the men of her own age and training.

Once started on a vocational experience, then, the entrance into marriage necessitates a choice between voca-

tions, with the prospect of restricted individual freedom in activity as well as money matters as a fairly prominent element in determining the choice. The very consciousness of this element of choice lurking in the background of thought, again tends to lend a more casual atmosphere to relationships with men, which in turn does not engender the type of masculine enthusiasm that makes the surrender of the vocation easy.

In the upper-income group, the idea of the obligation of the male to support the wife and family without assistance from the wife is more pronounced than in the wage-earning group. Thus, any deviation from the standard which would allow for marriage and continued vocational experience for the wife, is more likely to be met with objection from men of this group than from those in the lower-income group. This attitude of mind on the part of men, when combined with their hesitancy in proposing the alternative to a self-supporting and independent woman to whom they may be ever so deeply drawn, frequently leads men of this group to seek wives considerably their junior, who have had little or no experience at self-support, to whom they are able to offer some widening of experience rather than a contraction thereof. It not infrequently happens, moreover, that an alert and experienced woman finds with astonishment that that very quality, when too obviously recognized by admiring friends, substitutes antagonism for admiration in the mind of the man of her affections, who begins to see her as a competitor for position in the minds of mutual friends.

The attitude of men in the upper-income group toward permitting their wives to aid in family support, seems largely confined to contributions earned by the wife, rather than to any that may come through her from some one

else in her family, whether such contributions be earned by male or female. Indeed, the taboo at present seems to be not so much against a self-supporting wife as against an *obviously* self-supporting wife, or against a wife who by her own efforts has come to be self-supporting. There is, indeed, some reason to suspect that the male in the upper-income class, confronted with the same inadequacy of earnings as the male in the lower-income class, definitely seeks to solve the problems by contemplating marriage only with women of assured incomes.

It is difficult to generalize in a field where individual differences play so large a part. It is obvious, however, from the evidence accumulated from a multitude of sources, that the entrance of women into the professions has tended to postpone marriage in many cases, and to eliminate it altogether in many others. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of cases where marriage and career have developed fairly successfully side by side, and an increasing number of both men and women who are willing to make the experiment. In view of the trend of the times it seems fairly safe to say that the vocational experience and the professional pursuits of women will tend less and less to act as a deterrent to marriage. The example of those who successfully combine marriage and professional activity for the wife can be relied upon to stimulate still other attempts.

SOME CONSEQUENCES FOR FAMILY ORGANIZATION

The working of women outside the home, though intimately connected with the desire to maintain the family organization intact in many if not most cases, nevertheless necessitates some modification of the home structure, since economic, social, and lei-

sure-time activities can no longer be coördinated into the social whole intimately connected with the daily process of living, as was the case under the old domestic system. It is this difference in the conditions under which women work that is likely to have far-reaching consequences on the family organization and the permanency of satisfactory attitudes between husbands and wives. Although Dr. Hughes found that the 728 working mothers in Philadelphia did not give up their positions as homemakers when they entered industry, they modified their homemaking arrangements in a variety of ways, chief among which were: part-time employment, with part-time homemaking; boarding with other families and thus practically eliminating all housekeeping duties; transferring duties to relatives living in the home; and dividing duties among members of the immediate family.

Probably the chief difficulty in the present situation lies not so much in the fact that the old type of organization is being modified, as in the fact that as yet no new facilities have been developed to perform the functions formerly discharged by the mother in the home. This, however, need be only a temporary difficulty, in this age of specialization and minute division of labor, and the fact that we have not yet developed adequate day nurseries, coöperative dining halls, laundries, and similar collective devices, probably means only that we insist on maintaining the home in a manner and through a means that has long since been discarded in other walks of life as inefficient.

It has not yet been successfully demonstrated that the mere physical ability to bear children carries with it the necessary qualifications to rear them. Much that modern psychologi-

cal research is turning up with regard to parent-and-child conflicts, delinquency, and so forth, would indicate that quite the reverse may be true. It may turn out that even under the best of home conditions, the child's natural mother is not necessarily the best playmate the child can have. It is quite patent to the observant that the natural mother of children may not be the best possible person to prepare their food, and with modern machine methods in the manufacture of clothing, children could well dispense with the ill-fitting and ugly creations of their inexperienced parents.

Although it is quite evident that children of the working class of mothers do tend to be upon the street, to fend for themselves, and to become delinquent, it is by no means clear that all of these traits, or even a majority of them, can be accounted for by the absence of the mother from the home during a major part of the day. Other factors apparently produce the same phenomena in children of unemployed mothers, and we cannot yet measure the extent to which the mother's occupation is the cause.

PRESENT ECONOMIC ORDER INEFFECTIVE

The most destructive factor in the present situation, and that most likely to retard the achievement of a satisfactory set of institutions to do most of the work incident to bringing up children—granting that mothers will continue to have to bear them—is an economic system that does not provide a decent living for the majority of wage-earning families even after both mother and father have done their utmost to make it do so. A more adequate income would make possible the inauguration of a new type of division of labor, whereby well-trained individuals might as a vocation do most

of the work that is now done in the home, in a manner that would leave mother, father, and children free to spend their leisure hours together, free from the harassing details of homemaking which most women at best do not enjoy, and which no woman does except from a sense of duty after a long day in the factory.

The ineffectiveness of the present economic order to provide a decent standard of living for the masses of the people must bear most of the blame for much of the demoralization that is at present witnessed in connection with family disorganization.

The difficulty which confronts the wage-earning mother is also encountered by the professional mother—namely, how to have and rear children in a society which has not recognized the need of developing new forms of coöperative organization and of division of labor for accomplishing the task of housekeeping with the same degree of efficiency that is now characteristic of other fundamental activities. In addition to this difficulty, the professional woman has the problem of dropping into and out of her profession in order to bear her children, and of adjusting her professional career to that of her husband in cases where their best chances for advancement do not happen to be in the same community. Since professional careers are built, continuity of work is a significant factor in their development; and unfortunately, the best time to make strides in the profession coincides with the best part of the childbearing period. There are, of course, many professions which can be very easily accommodated to childbearing, but they are as yet limited. No doubt individual women will in time make adjustments to others. A few successful examples will mean more than much theorizing.

COMPETITION OF MARRIAGE AND CAREER

Although there has been less concrete evidence gathered as to the motives governing women who have entered into professions than as to those governing women who have entered industry, it is fairly certain that the professional woman does not set out upon a career which she deliberately chooses in preference to marriage. Although it is true that marriage among this group does now have to compete with a career in other walks of life, the career, at least until it is an established fact, is regarded in many cases as a kind of insurance policy in case a satisfactory adjustment should not be made in marriage.

That the preparation and type of experience encountered in the course of life prior to marriage may profoundly affect the attitude of women in their marriage relationship cannot be denied. The type of dual rôle she must play if she combines her profession with her family, makes family adjustment more difficult than if the profession were eliminated. To forego the profession, on the other hand, in order more adequately to perform the less satisfying details of homemaking, raises a regret, which, although unexpressed, may become a fertile source of discontent as the struggle with inadequate income and household details continues.

These unexpressed regrets and unfulfilled ambitions are frequently basis factors in marital discord, and not infrequently they terminate in divorce. At bottom, much that now happens to break up the family can be traced to personality conflicts between husbands and wives where one or the other or both feel thwarted and hampered in their self-expression.

The task for the future seems to be to discover some form of division of

labor in the home where individuals can coöperate in a life that is mutually stimulating and satisfying; probably where the details of so-called home-making are done elsewhere than in the home, or are mutually shared by all parties concerned, and where husbands and wives are pleased each at the professional success of the other.

In the meantime there will continue

to be conflicts and broken homes; but it is impossible to change the trend and find women back in the home under conditions that formerly prevailed. That the family will continue to be a going concern is inevitable; but that adjustments will gradually be made that take woman into account on a basis more comparable to that of man is equally certain.

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Family Members as Consumers

By ROBERT S. LYND

IT IS usually said that the family has shifted since the industrial revolution from a producing unit to a consuming unit. Such a statement, while roughly true, masks the devolution of the buying of the increasingly loosely articulated group that we call the family to its several individual members. To be sure, the family still buys a house or a refrigerator, but the utilization of a growing array of goods and services is passing from total-family consumption to consumption by individuals—men, women, boys, and girls, of different ages and personality needs.

A FAMILY OF INDIVIDUALS

One of the outstanding complicating factors in contemporary urban family life is the necessity for adjustment within a total of available money and time of the individual expenditures of family members. For, as the status and resulting rôle of each member of the family has become less a matter of traditional parental authority and filial obedience or of male dominance and wifely submission, and more a matter of the inscrutable personality rights of each individual, these family members constitute less of a "unit" than in any former period in the history of the American family. The title of this paper has accordingly avoided the more customary form of "The Family as a Consumption Unit."

A human being may be viewed as an array of dynamic impulses and habits, wound up and going in response to a motley assortment of internal tensions created by the nature of the human organism in its interaction with the

culture in which it finds itself. As L. K. Frank has pointed out, the processes of growing up and of effective adult living consist in managing one's individual tensions through weighting them with values sufficiently congruous with the modal values of society and at the same time with one's urgent personal needs to enable one to present some socially tolerable semblance of an integrated front in the business of living. Within the skin of each of us, this exciting drama is played out in our every waking and sleeping hour until the end of the picture. It is because consumption in our contemporary culture plays such a pervasive part in this drama that it is important to consider it in any comprehensive study of the family and its members.

HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

Alexander Hamilton, in his "Report on Manufactures" submitted to Congress in his capacity of Secretary of the Treasury in 1791, after noting the existence of young industries concerned with the manufacture of firearms, agricultural implements, sawed lumber, milled grain, dressed hides, and a few similar rudimentary commodities, commented on the "vast scene of household manufacture," including for instance, in a number of districts, the household manufacture of "two thirds, three fourths, and even four fifths of all the clothing of the inhabitants." Between 1830 and 1840 the number of factory spindles in Massachusetts doubled, and they doubled again in the decade of the 1840's. Between 1850 and 1899 agriculture dropped from 72 per cent to 43 per cent of the United States' produc-

tive output, and manufacturing and the extraction of minerals rose correspondingly. Over the last generation the volume of manufacturing has grown from a base of 100 in 1899 to 251 in 1930, with a high of 308 in 1929.¹

This rate of increase has been more than double the rate of increase in population, and the expansion has been most rapid in lines producing industrial apparatus and equipment, i.e., going plant machinery and equipment aimed at increasing still further the rate of output of consumers' goods. The estimated value of industrial buildings, corrected for changes in dollar value, rose from one and one-half billion dollars in 1899 to over five billion dollars in 1927.² Even with all the lag and waste inherent in our business processes, this increased output by American industry has meant an increment in the per capita wealth of the country.

In contrast to the conditions described by Alexander Hamilton, today the great bulk of the things consumed by family members are not made in the home, and the efforts of family members are focused instead on making money and *buying* a "living." The buying of husbands, wives, and children constitutes the crucial neck of the bottle through which the astonishingly proliferated output of America's industrial machinery must somehow manage to flow to provide "an American standard" of health, possessions, and happiness.

In this process of buying a living, roughly two thirds of our national income now flows across the counters of the retail establishments included in the recent Census of Distribution:

department stores and other local retail units selling food, apparel, furniture and house furnishings, automobiles, lumber and building materials, and like commodities. The other third goes to buy rent and owned houses; religion; medical and dental care; movies, concerts, and the theater; travel; insurance; governmental services such as schools, libraries, police and fire protection, highways, and battleships; corporate income plowed back into industry; and savings.

It is the negotiation of the congested neck of the bottle noted above—a process of selling for business and a process of buying for consumers—that reveals what we term the "problems" of consumption; tensional problems for the manufacturer and business man pushed from behind by the momentum of modern technology and merchandising, and tensional problems for family members struggling to make their particular adjustments to each other and to the baffling variety and quantity of living that can now be bought.

FACTORS INFLUENCING CONSUMERS

Certain general aspects of the tensional situations in which the family labors must be stressed at the outset.

The consumer faces his problems alone, save for such counsel and support as other members of the family may happen to be able to give; while the productive and merchandising agencies operate in increasingly coördinated masses, aided by trade associations and acute specialized services, and backed by a general governmental policy concentrated on helping business rather than the consumer.

A second general consideration affecting the consumer is the extent of expansion at any given time of the physical plant facilities of the various industries. Plant capacity develops

¹ Preliminary figures, *U. S. Federal Reserve Bulletin*, Jan. 1931.

² From L. P. Alford's "Technical Changes in Manufacturing Industries," in *Recent Economic Changes*, Vol. I, p. 136.

through the accidents and guesses of an individual enterprise devoted to the main chance for private gain. Once developed, however wisely or unwisely, under the impetus of war orders, post-war expansion, or optimistic anticipations of volume sales, plant capacity operates as a powerful pressure shaping (often quite fortuitously and possibly deleteriously from the standpoint of the consumer) the pattern of consumer habits. Thus, the overbuilt automobile industry, facing a country full of families struggling to balance their budgets in a depression era, is said to be planning, as this article is being written (December 1931), to launch shortly upon the perplexed consumers of the country "the largest newspaper advertising campaign in automotive history." Also, the present heavy holdings of insurance companies in commercial paper of congregate housing corporations are said to be resulting in pressure from these insurance companies against provision of new financing for needed new types of large-scale housing.

It cannot, of course, be too strongly stated that these and thousands of similar daily moves do not reflect any malevolent intent on the part of the manufacturer and the business man; they represent simply the orthodox procedures of business in seeking to adjust to the conditions under which it labors in its efforts, with its existing overhead, to "keep out of the red." The one thing of which we can be sure is that the pattern of life of all of us (as to whether we figure in our budget the replacement of our car every two years rather than wearing it out, and even the proportion of our time spent in contemplation, reading, and playing with our children rather than in doing, using, and going to commercially exploited things) is profoundly influenced by the strong arm of the manufacturer's

compulsion to maintain volume and keep down overhead. Certain other aspects of such pressure situations created by our current business folkways will be discussed below.

Another factor conditioning the general concentration and balance of pressures on the consumer is the distribution of wealth. The great range in amount of personal wealth possessed by families in the same community inevitably operates as a tensional factor in the lives of those who, while sending their children for instance to the local high school attended by all income levels, must dress, house, and care for their children on a scale of comfort and pleasant variety below that of the children of the better-to-do. The pressures applied by industry, while spread generally over the community in newspaper advertising, shop windows, and on its streets, are very commonly aimed at special income levels—leaving the less favored income groups in the position of the small boy with his nose against the candy-shop window.

Furthermore, since earning power bears only the vaguest relation to family needs, and since production tends to adjust itself to the existing range of earning powers rather than to family needs, the resulting pattern of production of consumers' goods tends to reflect not only the accidents of plant development, as noted above, but also the accidents of income concentration, rather than the needs of human beings living in families. As von Wieser has pointed out, "It is, therefore, the distribution of wealth which decides how production is set to work and induces consumption of the most unnecessary kind." Or as Sidney Webb has stated the same point, "The inequality of income at the present time obviously results in a flagrant 'wrong production' of commodities."

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF SPENDING

Living in such an exotic wonderland of productive capacity, the members of each family group set out more or less together but otherwise alone, on the adventure of buying a living. They immediately encounter certain subtle but pervasive sources of tension imbedded in the traditional folkways of our culture as they are being reshaped under the impact of new conditions.

The deep-rooted Puritan tradition of abstinence is being undercut by the new citizenship, which makes it a civic duty to spend to make the wheels of industry turn. The tradition that saving and paying cash for purchases are essential to sound family economy and to self-respect is succumbing to the growing habit of credit, fostered by such popular devices as charge accounts and installment buying. The gospel that once prescribed cutting one's expenditures to fit one's purse is confronted by the new good words that the way to "get out of the red" is to push one's income up another peg and that "you've got to spend money nowadays in order to earn it." Hardship and "making friends with one's luck" no longer wear the halo they formerly did as a "stern discipline" and the inevitable lot of man. Doing without, nowadays, is just a "tough break," to be avoided by using easy credit that turns wishes into horses overnight and telescopes the future into the present.

Inevitable emotional sprains, notably between husbands and wives with different degrees of indoctrination in the older beliefs, and between the older and younger generations in the same family, inevitably accompany such adjustments in personal pecuniary philosophy. The security of thrift and future reward on earth or in Heaven is yielding uneasily to the anxious

excitement of spending and enjoying here and now.

A profound illiteracy is involved in the shift from finger-knowledge of textiles, foods, and other commodities to the present great obfuscation of the values inherent in commercial articles. The housewife may finger a heavy silk knowingly after the manner of her mother and yet be totally ignorant of the fact that it is tin loading that makes the silk "heavy" and therefore speciously "good" according to her inherited equivalence of those two adjectives as applied to silk.

Housewives are less sure today of "right ways" and "wrong ways" of doing things than were their mothers. The very plethora of choices bred by the multiplication of ingenious alternative consumption goods by industries anxious to maintain volume, has bred teasing choices where formerly a comfortable "right way" ruled. Take so simple a matter as buying a kitchen table: In addition to the old standard flat-topped wooden table, the choice today includes zinc, marble, enamel in many shades, and monel metal tables, in many sizes, with and without drop leaves. If the housewife is drawn towards an enamel-topped table, she may be cautioned that citrous fruit juice will stain it permanently. And so the buying of so simple an article may become a technical problem and a source of indecision and personal tension.

CHANGING NEEDS

Another changing traditional folkway concerns home ownership. Home ownership has always been a mark of substantial citizenship in this country—a thing regarded as too patently desirable to be debated. Today, in our mobile culture, with compact houses, and with household services increasingly performed by agencies outside the home, the case for home ownership by

large sections of our population is by no means so clear. To be sure, the build-and-own-your-own-home movement has just had the full weight of a national White House Conference placed behind it, to the accompaniment of wide publicity. And yet, the consumer may quite properly persist in asking whether the virtues of home ownership, like the traditional exaltation of paying cash for all purchases, may not be an outmoded folkway; whether through adequately designed congregate dwellings providing group facilities for many services now wastefully performed in individual household units, there may not lie a more economical and efficient solution of his housing problem in terms of the realities of 1932.

Again, family standards of living a generation ago were characterized far more by plateaus of relative arrival than they are today. People did not get about so much. One spent one's Sunday afternoons under the shade trees in the back yard instead of driving the family past new housing developments replete with new "Tudor-bethan" houses bristling with the latest improvements. The movies did not bring dinner coats, service plates, grand pianos, and smart interior decoration weekly into the lives of people who ate in the kitchen and possessed only one "everyday" and one "dress-up" suit. Nowadays the sheltered security of relative arrival on a plateau of acquisition "pretty good for people in our position" has given way to an uneasy windswept slope on which contentment with one's own meager possessions is far more difficult. Advertising and installment selling see to it that the steady trade wind which fans wants never stops blowing.

FAMILY SPENDING

Most families still earn their money in the traditional way, that is, through

a single male wage-earner or nominal head of the house. In an increasing number, the wife exchanges a portion of her miscellaneous productive activity within the home for a money wage for commercial services outside the home, and, even in families where the wife is not earning directly, her social activities frequently bear a close relation to her husband's business position.

The collective income of family members used to be under the control of the dominant member, usually the husband and father. Today, the tightened competition for the family income, owing to rising standards of living, multiplication of new and alternative consumption goods, and like factors, makes it more imperative than ever before that funds be spent judiciously, with an eye to the relative yields—short-term and long-term, personal and social—of competing goods and services. And yet never before has focused dominance in family spending been so weak or the funds of individual family members so loosely aggregated. Never before has so much of "living" been bought, or have children carried money so generally, or have consumers' goods been so sedulously differentiated to evoke the desires of individuals of special ages and sexes. Never before has the code required of husbands and wives such scrupulous forbearance from domineering over each other's purchases of "living" or from "bossing" the choices of their children. The new college-trained generation of husbands and wives often lean over backwards in the effort to assure each other a modicum of privacy.

"Though in wedlock
He and she go,
Each maintains
A separate ego."

The rôle of every member of the family is in flux. And the upshot is the battle royal of contemporary family finance, resulting in a consumption crazy-quilt, and a recurring "first-of-the-monthitis" which leaves a dizzy hang-over of tension. It is nearly twenty years since Wesley Mitchell wrote trenchantly of "The Backward Art of Spending Money," and the growing fractionating of the family is increasing this maladroitness of family spending.

CONFLICTING INTERESTS

As suggested earlier, a major difficulty besetting the consumer is inherent in the fact that different hands in this game are being played according to different sets of rules. A citizen earns his living under a set of rules whereby he may lose his job overnight, through no one's "fault," while he pays for his home under rules that require uninterrupted payments, job or no job. Considerations of business profit dominate our culture at the same time that we profess as a Nation to regard the home as our basic and most important institution. One Government bureau sends out popular bulletins on thrift and family budgeting at the same time that the Bureau of Standards is forbidden to make available to American families the specific brands which the Government buys for its own use at an annual saving of millions of dollars, after detailed performance tests by the Bureau. One Government bureau advises in a radio broadcast the eating of less meat during hot weather for the sake of the health of citizens, and another Governmental agency promptly blocks the diffusion of such counsel to citizens because it hurts business. Education professedly seeks, with its enormous annual expenditures, to help citizens to live effectively; and yet no public school superintendent

known to the writer dares attempt a candid, explicit education for consumption that would invade with the measuring stick of science the maze of conflicting claims on the cartons of the commodities on the shelves of local merchants.

One of the most interesting aspects of this confusion in the rules of the game is the widespread sincere belief among business men that the consumer controls production and distribution through his rational choices from among possible goods and services. That is to say, there is only one set of rules—those of the consumer.

Yet, was it the consumer that created the new merchandising technique of "deliberate obsolescence" that has become entrenched in the automobile industry and is permeating other industries? Was it consumer fickleness and perversity that put the Empress Eugenie hat on the market in the Summer of 1931, rode the style to a wild gallop, and left the horse dead by the road two months later, after some millions of women had bought supposedly winter hats that became *passé* before the autumn leaves turned? How much responsibility for the present proportions of the beauty industry in America should the consumer assume? In 1931, for the first time, such a magazine as the *Ladies Home Journal* carried more cosmetic advertising than food advertising.

The answers to these questions are not easy. The personal insecurity of woman, in a culture where her old sources of status and security in steady childbearing and household production have dwindled and her status must constantly be won and re-won by personality and attractiveness if she is to get and keep a husband under the dissolving bans of modern marriage, has played a large part, for instance, in her increased utilization of beauty

devices. In a sense, the consumer does control production; but the difficulty lies in the assumption that it is "rational consumer choices" that control production. Once take the assumed high degree of rationality out of consumer choices and recognize the consumer as a hard-beset mariner willing to make for almost any likely port in a storm, and it becomes largely a question of whose signal lights can beckon to him most alluringly.

REDUCING CONSUMER RESISTANCE

And this lands us in the problem of advertising. Here we see vividly the process of the two sides of the table playing by different rules—advertising attempting to capture a market, while the consumer aims to select the best available article, all things considered. Gillette Razor bets Lambert, the man who "put over" the Listerine campaign, a million dollars against the gamble of his time without salary that he cannot "halitosize" the Gillette razor blade; and the current heavy advertising campaign depicting indignant wives threatening to leave husbands because they do not shave twice a day, and other similar domestic scenes, is the result.

The development of national brands undoubtedly makes for a higher general level of quality, but the price in confusion is great. A study of 5,000 Milwaukee consumers' habits showed them in 1931 to be using 22 brands of canned milk, 115 brands of packaged coffee, 76 brands of tooth paste, 68 brands of mouth wash, 73 brands of shaving cream, 256 brands of tooth brushes, and so on through most of the other hundreds of commodities for which the two thirds of the family income is spent.

Dealers currently report an increasing instability of consumer demand among brands—which means that

under the pounding of rival merchandising claims, the consumer is apparently floundering from brand to brand at an accelerating speed. In other words, popular education in the form of advertising is continually opening and reopening issues and decisions that might conceivably in this complex culture be relegated to the status of useful habitual modes of reaction. Mazur says in his *American Prosperity* (p. 48):

But should advertising ever really limit itself under judicial oath to tell the whole truth, unvarnished and unadorned, woe betide confidence in America's products and industry. . . . If the whole truth were really told, the career of advertising would degenerate from the impact of a powerful hydraulic hammer to a mildly reproving weak slap on the wrist.

Is the baffled consumer interested in "the career of advertising" and in having it deliver "the impact of a powerful hydraulic hammer" on his head? Or is there something funny about all this—like the football game in which a bewildered player ran the wrong way and made a touchdown against his own team?

Living as a husband or wife or boy or girl in these 1930's is a nerve-racking affair under the most favorable circumstances. Impelled from within by the need for security in the most emotionally insecure culture in which any recent generation of Americans has lived, beset on every hand by a public philosophy that puts not the quality of family living but the health of business first, untrained by education in the backward art of spending to live, buttressed by his government only against a few of the grossest abuses of his efforts to buy an effective living, the consumer faces a trying dilemma. He can expect little help and much personal confusion in buying his living,

and yet it is chiefly through buying life that he must live in this intricately specialized and vicarious world.

In the face of the aggravating slowness with which life yielded its fruits in a handicraft era, the consumer balanced his tensions by values heavily loaded on the side of "patience," "thrift," "steadfastness," "independence," "abstinence," and the negative values which imputed "sin" to "worldliness" and "great possessions." Many of these old flags are down, their values torn to bits by the steady march of a secularized world.

Today it is not the slowness with which life yields its fruits to the even turn of the seasons that heightens our tensions, so much as the appalling opulence of the living all about us beckoning to be bought—college educations, summer camps in Maine for our children, space and relief from the pressure of the pace of urban life, the wizardry of costly medical care, beauty of person, and all the rest. Differential pressures beset men and women, boys and girls, to be beautiful, to dress pleasantly, to be slender, or asking "What will you be earning at 45?" Ceaselessly, in season and out, business interests condition each of us by "powerful hydraulic hammers" to weight our tensions with their commercially inspired values.

IMPULSE INSTEAD OF JUDGMENT

Consumption, therefore, while nominally concerned with buying a "living,"

in all the potential richness of that word, side-slips with many of us into a job lot of substitutive reactions. Too sorely beset within and without to have a decent judgment as to possible values nicely adjusted to our wants as sober personalities, we cover our confusion by jittering up to the bar and ordering "Same as the rest." Surely this great unrest within us will be quieted if we do what the advertisements say and what the crowd do! We vote the good fellow ticket straight, buying and throwing away our Eugenie hat as much by ritual as the followers of the winning team toss their hats over the goal posts, or setting ourselves up by surprising the boys by our "swell new Buick." We link our consumption into orthodox chains of proper items, each white elephant holding fast the tail of its fellow.

The 1929 report of the Philadelphia Housing Association notes that in 1920 there were in the City of Philadelphia 737 sheriff's dispossession writs to separate Philadelphia consumers from houses they could not pay for. The decade of the twenties was marked by a customary unplanned shortage of houses followed by a customary unplanned fever of building houses, and thousands of Philadelphia consumers bought what they could get in a seller's market to keep a roof over their heads. Steadily the total of sheriff's writs rose through the decade to 9,093 in 1928 and to 11,918 in 1929. Of such is the Kingdom of Consumption.

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Social Change and the Family

By LAWRENCE K. FRANK

IF we are to understand the rather bewildering situation in family life today, we shall have to go behind the social and economic situation and attempt to reveal what is happening to men and women. It is not enough to repeat the catalogue of economic and industrial changes if we do not go further and ask what they imply for the conduct of men and women generally, and more especially in the association we call marriage.

From many discussions of the home and the family, one might gather the impression that there were grave difficulties in altering our traditional domestic economy over to the new. It is frequently suggested that living in a multiple-family dwelling, buying bread, cooked food, and canned goods, sending out the washing to the laundry, using gas and electric power, riding in automobiles, using rapid transit, and otherwise utilizing the manifold conveniences and comforts of urban life were so baffling that the home and the family could not cope with them.

Again, it is often asserted that technical changes in industry and business, the growing size of establishments, the use of power machinery, the operation of chain stores, and other aspects of the contemporary industrial development have revolutionized social life; but just how those changes react upon the family is less clearly indicated.

MATERIAL CHANGES EASILY ACCEPTED

If one reflects upon the situation and reviews his or her own recent experience, it is readily seen that no great difficulty is encountered in adopting modern ways of living, with their

conveniences and inconveniences, their gadgets and their refinements. Indeed, it is so easily accomplished that a family or an individual from the back woods may come to the big city and be thoroughly urbanized in a few months' time, so far as acceptance of modern urban living is involved.

What we are prone to forget or ignore is that the material culture—as the anthropologists term this array of tools and equipment, techniques and skills—is readily changed, but the non-material culture of custom, tradition, codes of behavior, ethics and morals, and the *mores* or folkways of behavior, is less plastic. Long after the material culture has changed, the patterns of conduct which governed man's behavior in that former material culture will still be observed, producing confusion and dismay and often misery and distress as he struggles to reconcile the old with the new. An illustration of the cultural lag can be found in the industrial situation. The introduction and widespread adoption of machinery and modern technology in factories displaced the older handicraft; yet the customs of the older culture persisted in the law of master and servant and in a variety of traditions and ancient standards of conduct which we see today in many problems of industrial relations.

If we are to gain some insight into family life and the marriage situation today, we must address ourselves to these less apparent aspects of the situation and, if possible, discover how far the traditional folkways and patterns of conduct for men and women, for parents and children, are being

frustrated and distorted by these changes in the material culture we are witnessing. In other words we must attempt to reveal the impact of the changing economic life upon personality and mating.

EARNING A LIVING

Perhaps the most direct evidence of the effect of the changing social-economic situation upon the individual is to be seen in earning a living. At the outset it is well to remind ourselves that today it is largely a question of *earning* a living, while a few generations ago it was a question of *making* a living. Then, the individual man and woman was for the most part engaged in agriculture or handicrafts in which strength, skill, patience, and endurance bulked large. Money, as income and as expenditure, played a relatively small rôle, as the following extract from the diary of a New England farmer clearly shows:

My farm gave me and my whole family a good living on the produce of it and left me, one year with another, one hundred and fifty silver dollars, for I never spent more than ten dollars a year, which was for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to eat, drink or wear was bought, as my farm produced it all.

The family was the industrial and economic unit, and to make a living a man had before him the example of his father and his neighbors, with a body of lore and custom to guide him in growing food and raw materials and fabricating them into needed articles. The young woman also had her guides and teachers in her mother and other older women, who taught her the arts and crafts needed in her activities as a housewife or a spinster.

Today the situation has changed completely, and even in the rural sections, few farmers are engaged in *making* a living; for the most part they

are occupied in raising cash crops to sell in order to *earn* a living. Moreover, where formerly only the most enterprising and courageous (and perhaps also the black sheep) went out to seek new occupations and livings, today, with the decline of the rural population and the growth of the urban, almost every one is being forced out to seek a job and to face new and unfamiliar conditions. Thus we see how, for the majority of persons, no longer are there safe and comfortable refuges of traditional occupations and ways of life; all are faced with uncertainty, often anxiety, and are called upon to exert themselves in strange surroundings with few guideposts and traditions. How much this has to do with the current mood of anxiety and restless uneasiness, we can only speculate.

Money income is the focus of endeavor and the only means to a livelihood, in earning which not only men but increasingly women, unmarried and married, are engaged. The conditions affecting gainful occupations are therefore of prime significance for the family life and the home, since the individual man and woman is subject to their governance.

INDIVIDUAL HELPLESSNESS

The helplessness of the individual is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of these conditions. Whatever may be the individual's capacity and skill, his employment is subject to abrupt termination or limitation by business depression, which closes down not only his place of employment but also others, to a greater or less extent, thus preventing him from seeking another job in a different location or in another industry or business. When times are good, he is subject to loss of his job through technical changes which render his

work obsolete or his particular factory uneconomical to operate. The person who escapes these threats may be laid off or discharged because he is too old—at forty.

These large and intangible factors creating the worker's helplessness are reënforced by more direct limitations upon his activities. The control of wages, hours, and output by trade unions and other forms of collective bargaining has deprived the individual of any but an indirect participation in determining his earnings, whatever may be his capacity or skill.

Again, the growth of large-scale industrial processes, demanding ever larger capital investment; the rise of chain stores and other forms of productive or distributive activities, requiring incorporation, strong resources, and connections increasingly beyond the reach of the individual—all have conspired to close the former avenues to personal enterprise and initiative. Earning a living is being restricted to wage earning and salary earning under conditions but little amenable to influence or modification by the ordinary worker.

Within the larger corporations, promotion is fairly slow and restricted, and the routine demands a conformity that gives little room for individual activities except for a few at the top. In the professions—law, medicine, and engineering—the overcrowding is notorious; and for one or two brilliant successes there are thousands who barely earn a living in the practice of their profession, while many, after undergoing the prolonged training required, enter upon other occupations as the only way to earn a living.

With the growth of child-labor laws and compulsory school attendance, the age for beginning to earn an income has been progressively postponed. In this present period of acute unemployment,

the school authorities are urging pupils to continue their schooling and to defer seeking a job.

The foregoing description of the economic situation is intended to show the direction of social change. In some sections of the country the old conditions still obtain, and many small shops and factories are still in operation; but it is clear that the drift is away from those former conditions, and impending changes are already at work upon the attitudes and beliefs of men and women. Lest the reader be led into despondency over this seemingly gloomy picture, he should be reminded that the introduction of the factory system and the elimination of handicraft, a century or so ago, brought as great if not greater changes of a similar character to the artisan and craftsman. The industrial revolution is still in process.

While the individual has been rendered ever more helpless in this matter of earning a living, he has also been progressively relieved of the frequent claims upon him for immediate or future contingencies. Through widows' pensions, old-age pensions and retirement allowances, accident compensation and often sickness allowances, industrial or governmentally supplied medical care and the succor of family welfare societies, a large portion of the former responsibilities and anxieties has been lifted from the shoulders of the wage earner. These provisions reflect fairly accurately the helplessness and inability of the individual today to make provision for such contingencies, and the disappearance of the older arrangement of family and neighborhood assistance.

TRANSFER OF HOME FUNCTIONS

When we turn to the question of what is this living for which an income must be earned, we again see a large

shift in process. The functions of the home upon which the family life was focused are being transferred to other agencies and organizations. Food, as we know, is to be found increasingly in restaurants and cafeterias, and that which is consumed in the home is prepared by canning factories, bakeries, ice cream factories, and so on.

The care of the sick and the maintenance of health has become institutionalized in hospitals, sanatoria, and clinics, aided by visiting nurses and related personnel who render the care formerly given by members of the family.

Childbirth is increasingly taking place in hospitals, and the care and nurture of the child is likewise moving outside of the home to clinic, nursery school, kindergarten, school, summer camp, playground, and youth organization. The young adult who formerly lived at home is now living in dormitories and bachelor hotels, thus leaving the family group as soon as wage earning begins, instead of waiting until marriage. With the prolongation of schooling, however, the economic dependence of the child is continuing into the years when the maintenance of the child is probably most costly.

The making of clothes for men and now for women is being industrialized, as is their cleaning and laundering, which marks another transfer of home functions.

For recreation and leisure-time activities, the home has already yielded to the theater for plays and moving pictures, to clubs and associations and commercialized amusements of all kinds. On the other hand, the radio is bringing entertainment into the home, with the possibility of television as a further addition to home life.

The provision against the proverbial rainy day, as already discussed, is

mental schemes of pensions, allowances, and tax-supported services.

In the religious sphere, the home and the family are becoming an increasing object of concern on the part of the church leaders, while the old-time intimate religious life of the family appears to be fading out or losing much of its former importance and significance.

These transfers and losses of home functions are being met by changes in housing. We are rapidly becoming residents of congregate dwellings, or apartment houses as we call them where we live as tenants, paying rent. The home as a secure haven and as a symbol of solid achievement and status is passing, so that we may in truth refer to the homeless millions, who occupy a house or an apartment only so long as the rent is forthcoming. This homelessness is reflected in the frequent moving from one apartment to another, since our complete lack of responsibility or concern, save for the rent, prevents the formation of ties to the particular dwelling we inhabit. In this connection it should be remembered that by paying rent we are provided with all the services which members of the family once performed such as maintaining the heating and hot water, removal of garbage and trash, cleaning the premises, repairing equipment, and the like, not forgetting the use of gas for cooking and electric power for lighting, and the innumerable household chores they have wiped out.

FORMER GOALS ARE PASSING

Thus stripped of its functions and responsibilities, the home no longer is a focus of human endeavor and interest but is becoming rather a place at which various services are rendered, for which the payment of a money income is

to be the goal of striving it once formed for the family: houses are purchased or built for financial reasons, and mortgages are not reduced except when required.

Other goals are being relinquished in this shift of home functions. To own property, especially land and a house, was once the chief aim of a family and the mark of its solid worth in the community. Various furnishings also occupied a special position in the family aspirations and were objects to be sought through thrifty saving. But installment purchasing has changed that, and as the automobile and the radio have superseded the piano and other prized items of furniture, the need for waiting and saving has passed. The car and the radio are not goals, they are necessities and are purchased as such, to be paid for "on time."

Status in the community has long been the goal of endeavor, but today has a limited appeal. The restrictions upon small enterprise and industry have closed the door to the usual route to respectable competence and a dignified position in the community, and the frequency of moving about in large cities has rendered the neighborhood of little account except to the children. The prestige of the competent housekeeper and mother of a family has diminished with the simpler function of the household and the decrease in number of children.

Children have been both a goal and the focus of family endeavor: but with the declining birth rate they are playing a somewhat altered rôle in the family. Today economic insecurity and conditions of urban life unfavorable to child care are both to be considered before childbearing is undertaken. When and if a couple has children, the number is less frequently four or five, as formerly, and more

often one or two. The multiplication of child-caring techniques, each calling for additional expenditures of energy and money, has enhanced the cost of child rearing for the conscientious parents who are anxious to provide the best available care and treatment for their children.

THE CHANGING WAY OF LIFE

While we rapidly note the passing of these different goals and enumerate the loss of home and family functions, we cannot too much emphasize that the disappearance of these various activities and strivings marks the passing of a *way of life*. To marry, have children, acquire property, gain a position of respect and dignity in the community, share in the common body of beliefs and affirmations about the universe and man's place therein—these made up a way of life to which the teachings of family, school, and church and the sanction of government and religion were all directed. Young people grew up in a society where the patterns appropriate to this way of life were ready-made, and, while they often criticized their stodgy parents and revolted against their demands, middle age found them more or less settled into the ruts of conformity, since there were no socially sanctioned alternatives.

The patterns for this older way of life remain, but the social-economic situation to which they were addressed has altered. Young men and women face either frustration in their efforts to conform to the older patterns, or confusion and anxiety as they explore for new patterns of conduct. These frustrations and anxieties are the dominant aspect of home and family life today.

The young man who would fulfill the older conception of a competent male, ambitious, enterprising, prepared to support a wife and family, faces a most perplexing situation. What kind of a

job shall he seek, what career shall he undertake, what scale of income shall he adopt as his goal? The young men of today, coming out of high school or college, are beset with such questions, since they must have some program or aim by which to guide their efforts and to measure their achievements. No less is the young woman bewildered and adrift or acutely miserable under the authority of tradition and the impulsion of present-day movements.

There are a few fundamental patterns and needs which determine in large measure the conduct of the individual and his mating. These touch his security, his reassurance, and his sex functioning; and if we are to understand how social and economic changes are affecting men and women, we must seek some illumination on these fundamentals and their fate today.

THE PERSONAL GOAL

Security for an individual is relative—not absolute; it is defined by the reach of the individual's aspirations and ideals. As he pictures himself, as a man, as a worker, as a husband, as a father, in the various other rôles which as a male he must play immediately or in the future, he creates an ideal self—the kind of man he would like to be. This is compounded of all the images and experiences he has had of real and imaginary men, in books and plays, and it becomes the secret goal and ambition of his life. To the extent that this ideal self is congruous with and sanctioned by the social-economic life around him and is within the reach of his real abilities and talents, it may be thoroughly realistic and desirable, giving to the man who cherishes it an admirable purpose and stability. Until he does achieve those purposes and fulfill those ambitions, he must remain anxious, apprehensive of check or defeat—in a word, insecure.

This insecurity, however, is of the man's own making, for it represents what tasks he has measured off for himself against the world. To his aid he may summon mighty forces of religion to give him a feeling of relatedness to the visible and the invisible universe and a belief in his own importance to whatever power lies behind the universe. He may invoke the strength of his family position and status to reinforce his own immature prowess and win for him the opportunities to show his ability. He may call upon his age and sex mates for assurance of his fitness and comparative capacities. Within himself he may find a large resource of quiet confidence in his readiness to meet life and its demands, if he has been fortunate enough to grow up in an atmosphere favorable to such inner peace. Beyond these ministrations to his security he may have access to affectionate intimacy in the love of his parents and later of his own mate and children, which will give him the most potent of all reassurance to meet the world.

But if one builds up for himself an ideal that is beyond his actual abilities, that is torn with internal conflicts or is irreconcilable with the actual social, economic, and political life in which he must live, then his aspirations and ambitions will betray him into endless anxiety and fear, leading him into vain endeavors for a security he can never achieve. The resources of religion, of family status, and of contemporary regard will avail little in this struggle, for he bears within himself the real source of his insecurity, for which no external reassurance will avail.

THE YOUNG MAN'S OUTLOOK ON LIFE

This is in large measure the situation of the young man today, for the discrepancy between the patterns offered him by a tradition (an older way of

life) and the changing social-economic conditions, gives rise to acute anxiety and perplexity. There is no security either in himself or in the social life around him, and the sources of reassurance have been depleted if not eliminated through the very process of change, undermining religious beliefs, family status and position, and the power of contemporary associations. This anxiety and dismay have infected the older men and women too, so that their affection is troubled and they can give little intimacy to their children.

What, asks the young man, can I do? What should I do? What is worth striving for, amid all this confusion and turmoil? What picture of myself can I construct as an ideal to be achieved with all the abilities and energies I can command? To these questions the young man receives dubious answers, since the old patterns are not applicable to the new organizations, the new operations, and the new set of economic, pecuniary arrangements now emerging from our obsolescent institutions. As yet, the new patterns which will guide the young man of tomorrow have not been created. In endless experiments and many futile efforts this generation is seeking them, but it has not clarified or stabilized them or given the sanctions needed for authoritative use.

According to the once popular view, a man's love was "a thing apart" from his work and position, and his marriage and family life were quite removed from his occupation. But this view will scarcely survive against the contrary evidence today. The man looks to his wife for recognition of the man he hopes to be, seeking from her the reassurance he needs to achieve his ambitions. He must have aspirations and ideals to lay before her as an earnest of the true self he hopes to attain and as a touchstone of her faith

and love for that self. If his ideals are shaky or dubious and he is filled with anxiety, he has little to offer or to gain in his mating. Or if his ambitions are high but incompatible with the new conditions of life, then he is threatened with heightened anxiety from without and from his wife's too trusting faith in him. If he has overrated his prowess before marriage, he faces his wife's reproaches or her silent disappointment, even when he has fought the good fight against overwhelming odds—changed conditions making that kind of success impossible. If he has too modestly pitched his hopes, while another succeeds, often by fortuitous circumstances, he may feel inferior and lose her esteem. These mischances and disms are not so much the failing of the man as they are unavoidable situations of a changing social life, wherein the young man can find no unequivocal patterns to guide him.

There is no need for elaborating upon this theme. Any one with insight and awareness can see on all sides the tragedy of marital discord engendered by this insecurity and the lack of a compelling way of life.

The ego ideal, or *persona*, of an individual, the picture of himself as he hopes to be, is the most important aspect of an individual, and when it is confused and weakened, his whole self and all his relations are disturbed. Especially are his marital relations disturbed, since the need for recognition of the ego ideal and for reassurance are as important as, if not more so than, sex needs. Indeed, sex compatibility is scarcely possible unless a man and a woman have faith in each other's personality and integrity. Moreover, the man who lacks security is scarcely able to fulfill the rôle of a competent husband, for which psychological potency is as essential as physiological potency.

New patterns in mating, especially for the male, are imperatively needed, since successful mating has become so much more important in marriage faced with the loss of family functions and responsibilities. Men and women require more affection and fuller sex realization to compensate for the loss of other activities and satisfactions, and to sustain them under strain and anxiety.

THE WOMAN'S BEFOGGED CONDITION

Woman, in these changing social conditions, is no less insecure and troubled with doubt. Her traditional goals and patterns are gone and she faces the necessity not merely of finding substitutes, as does the man, but also of discovering patterns for new activities and functions never before attempted by women. The conflict of competing loyalties is terrific and her sources of security are more depleted than are those of the man. Indeed, parents, education, religion, and art have only intensified her problems by their conservative refusal to recognize the change or help her to find some way of life compatible with her needs and new responsibilities.

It would take several volumes to outline the perplexities of the woman today, their source, and the frustrations they are imposing upon her. In the field of gainful employment into which women have been entering more rapidly than men, various obstacles and the disillusionment about men are productive of attitudes and emotional conditions of serious import for marriage, especially marriage of the old pattern. We can but indicate here how woman is fumbling for ego ideals into which she can pour her hopes and dreams and for which she can employ her immense energies and capacities; how she might clarify her aspirations but dare not because men are not

ready to accept her vision and her hopes—not prepared to receive the new woman who will displace the creature of masculine tradition.

We have today the high tragedy not only of bewildered men and women unable to find their way through these novel situations and circumstances, but of tortured personalities yearning for reassurance and intimacy and full mating, but doomed to rend each other through lack of insight into themselves and their mates and the patterns of conduct needed for their realization.

What men and women are doing to each other, they are doing to their children, but in different ways. The child, above all, needs security, reassurance, and the warmth of affection and peace which his parents, preoccupied with their anxieties and frustrations, can rarely give him. Nor can the father and the mother who are apprehensive over their own way of life offer tolerance and sympathy for the child's bewildering experiments.

THE FORWARD LOOK

We cannot stand still nor go back to the older ways of life, since belief in their authority and the sanctions are gone. We must go forward in faith and hope, trying to gain some real insights and a more sympathetic awareness of the personality needs of one another. No one is untouched by these situations, and no one is free from the anxieties and the poignant need of reassurance and intimacy. Perhaps the largest step in the working-out of the new home and family life will be taken when men and women realize their mutual uncertainties and needs, and together face the task of working out the future.

When we seek to understand the influence of changing social and economic conditions upon the home and the family, let us remember to go

behind the housing, the conveniences, and the thousand-and-one changes of material culture. Let us try to envisage the groping man and woman who, amidst these changes, are seeking something stable and effective for those enduring human needs that will, some day, we hope, find a new fruition in the good society which all this turmoil and confusion will produce.—

Mr. Lawrence K. Frank is Associate Director of Education, General Education Board, New York City. He has served on the staff of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and The Spelman Fund, and is interested in child research and parent education. He was formerly chairman of the Committee on Family, Social Science Research Council, and during 1931 prepared a report on Child and Youth for the Committee on Recent Social Change. Mr. Frank's forthcoming book on "Personality and Mating" will deal with the marriage situation under present-day conditions, as sketched in this article.

"Identification" and the Inculcation of Social Values

By MALCOLM M. WILLEY

THE young daughter of a distinguished American novelist, whose father and mother had divorced and each remarried, surprised a group of her elders at a social gathering not long ago by innocently blurting out: "I like my father's wife much better than my mother's husband." This remark, regarded by those who heard it merely as an example of childish frankness, has wide implications which should be apparent to any one interested in the changing aspects of American family life. Specifically, it reflects an attitude on the part of the child toward the family and marriage that would have been incomprehensible a generation or two ago. It suggests, further, a radical modification in the older stereotype of the family and family life, and, presumably, of the associated social values.

COMMUNICATION OF ATTITUDES AND VALUES

In the present paper it is the intention to suggest the significance of social values and to analyze the part played by the mechanism of identification in their inculcation. This mechanism, the importance of which has been recognized by psychologists, has ordinarily been overlooked by sociologists in discussions of social values. Attention here will be called to its importance in this connection.

It is not the purpose here to enter upon an extended discussion of the nature of attitudes or of social values; for present needs, some simple definitions will suffice. An attitude may be regarded as a "set" of the organism to respond in a given manner. Thus, one has attitudes towards prohibition,

towards naval disarmament, and towards sexual intimacy preceding marriage. At the same time such habit patterns, behavior situations, or customs in each instance constitute the social values which subjectively have expression in the attitudes of the individual. As Kimball Young has written:

Attitudes do not exist without reference to value meanings. And meanings are related to situations of all sorts around which we have constructed our habits and built up our series of images. Value represents, as Znaniecki puts it, the counterpart to attitude. Attitudes are not developed *in vacuo* but always in reference to something in the environment.¹

In other words, objects (such as foods or mechanical devices) and behavior-acts (such as those in conformity with the rules of etiquette or the moral codes) when given a social reference through the process of conditioning, are not regarded with complete indifference or weighted equally. The world of experience, and social experience in particular, does not remain for the growing individual a world of neutral grays. There is always evaluation, normally in terms of standardized group evaluations that have been perpetuated from the past as a part of the social heritage. *The objects and behavior-acts so perpetuated constitute for the individual his social values, which may be negative as well as positive.*

¹ Young, Kimball, *Social Psychology*, p. 139, Crofts. Also see discussion by John Markey in Lundberg, Anderson, Bain and others, *Trends in American Sociology*, pp. 128-135, Harpers; and Ellsworth Faris, "Attitudes and Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, 34: 271-281, 1928.

It is in the process of communication that attitudes and values are developed and acquired. Every situation involving social interaction results in the creation of new values or the modification and intensification of older ones; all contacts leave their imprint upon the individual. In general, the stronger the emotional bond attaching a person to a given object or behavior experience, the stronger and more intrusive will be his appreciation of the values that are involved. Strength of association also presumably bears a relation to frequency of repetition. Where emotionality and repetition are combined in given situations, values and attitudes tend to become clearly defined.

While every social situation in which an individual participates contributes to the shaping of his social values, some are clearly more important than others in the process of inculcation. It is in the primary groups, for example, that many dominating social values are learned, and the basis of what Judd has aptly called "expected behavior" established.² Similarly, many other social institutions constitute stimuli affecting human behavior. The school, the church, and the law exert a molding influence and are examples of institutions that have recognized importance in perpetuating social values and attitudes. The significance of social values inheres in the fact that they constitute one aspect of the scale of reference in terms of which the world of social experience is judged, consciously or unconsciously, by the members of social groups.

EXPLANATION OF IDENTIFICATION

In the process of conditioning underlying the acquisition by the individual of his values and attitudes, the mech-

anism referred to by psychologists as "identification" plays a primary part. This

consists in identifying ourselves with another individual, either real or fictitious, so that we experience his joys, sorrows, and desires as if they were our own. So long as the identification holds we feel that he is part of our personality and that we are living part of our lives in him.³

There is, in other words, a projection of the individual conception of the self, based on a broadening of the ego consciousness. Psychologists in studying the development of the "self" feeling in the individual have shown clearly that the concept of "self" is not confined to the body. To the baby the "self" is narrowly limited, and while he may perceive soon after birth that most of his own body is to be distinguished from the bodies of others, he nevertheless has none of that sense of unity with himself with regard to the things he uses, the room in which he lives, his clothing, or his family, that is possessed by an adult. In other words, the expansion of the ego consciousness comes with growth, and it is only slowly that the individual is able to extend his feeling of "me-ness" to include persons or things of wider range.

Two types or phases of identification are discernible—personal, and situational. With the former, which is the type specifically covered in the definition quoted from Hart, the identification is with persons. Hero worship serves as an illustration. The popular interest in such a figure as Lindbergh rests upon a vicarious experiencing of his emotions and adventures. The day-dreams of the child, his imitation of soldiers, aviators, and gangsters, and

² Cf. Judd, C. H., *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, Macmillan.

³ Hart, Bernard, *Psychology of Insanity*, p. 158, Cambridge. Cf. Willey, Malcolm M., and Herskovits, Melville J., "Servitude and Progress," *Journal of Social Forces*, 1: 228-234, 1923.

his adoration of fictional characters are also typical.

It is the second type, situational identification, that is more pertinent in understanding social behavior. Here the identification is not with individuals but with situations, in which there may be many characters. For the individual there is vicarious participation based upon familiarity with the situation, which familiarity in turn rests upon a knowledge of pertinent details. For example, while there is always in a theatrical production an element of personal identification, in that the member of the audience may in part identify with one of the characters upon the stage, the reaction of the individual more fundamentally rests upon *identification with the entire situation* that is being portrayed. He becomes, as it were, a participant in an episode of life and responds to the changing situations not as though he were merely a spectator, but as though he himself were one of the characters involved. Vicariously his self has been injected into the unfolding situation.

Again, it is not that the newspaper reader identifies himself with an escaped murderer who is being pursued by the sheriff's posse (personal identification); rather, because of the knowledge of details provided by the newspaper, he is enabled to envisage the total situation, and thus in imagination becomes a party in the hunt. Furthermore, where identification with symbols is involved, as with the flag, basically the identification is with the groups or the situations for which the symbol stands.

The significance of the mechanism that is being discussed becomes more apparent if it is related to two specific institutions that play a rôle in inculcating contemporary social values—the newspaper and the motion picture. It is because they repeatedly portray

situations involving strong emotions (that is, symbolically present situations to which the individual through identification responds emotionally) that they assume importance.

NEWSPAPERS AS IMPARTING SOCIAL VALUES

On December 13, 1930 there were in the United States 388 morning newspapers and 1,554 evening newspapers. Together they circulated 39,589,000 copies daily. In addition there were 521 Sunday newspapers with an aggregate circulation of 26,413,000.⁴ On January 31, 1931 the estimated number of motion picture theaters in the United States was 22,731, with seating capacity of 11,300,000.⁵ The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. (the "Hays organization") estimates the weekly attendance at motion picture shows in this country as 115,000,000, which, even though an overestimate, suggests the importance of this agency of communication. Although figures of distribution are not available, it is probably not far from the truth to assume that these two agencies bring impressions to the bulk of the population over the age of 14 with varying but considerable regularity.

As one studies the changes of a century in the contents of newspapers in this country, it becomes clear that a transformation in what may be termed the *tone* of the reading material has taken place. While no quantitative scale of actual measurement is available, papers may be graded theoretically on a scale one extreme of which represents complete neutrality of expression in so far as the factor of tone is involved. There is, at this extreme,

⁴ Editor & Publisher, *International Year Book Number*, 63: 120, 1931.

⁵ Estimate of Motion Picture Division of the United States Department of Commerce, in *United States Daily*, Feb. 4, 1931.

objectivity in presentation, simple statement of fact without embellishment, and no attempt to "play up" emotional qualities that may be involved. At the other extreme would be those papers in which news material is colored, the emotional quality enhanced by free use of adjectives and stereotyped words with emotional connotation, and an attempt made to inject "human" and personal qualities into what is being written. Specifically, the contrast would be between a *United States Daily* and a tabloid. As newspapers have sought wider circulation, there has inevitably been a shift from the former to the latter end of the hypothetical scale.

Emotions are the great common denominator of men, and wide appeal for interest is best made in emotional terms. While papers differ from each other and even within themselves in this matter of style of news presentation, it can scarcely be questioned that modern papers, taken as a class, in contrast to papers of a century ago, are more emotional. More significantly stated, the *news material is so presented as to awaken emotional responses in the reader by permitting him to identify himself psychologically with the situations that are being depicted*. In the modern paper this is achieved by the simple device of including an overwhelming mass of detail, out of which it is possible to reconstruct in imagination the setting of the incidents being described, and even something of the personality of the individuals that are involved. The requisite of identification is familiarity, and the modern newspaper proceeds accordingly to pile personal detail on personal detail; thereby it makes the reader the intimate of the figures of the day and the situations in which they find themselves. The newspaper characters become the reader's "acquaintances"—

even his intimates—although in imagination only. They are his heroes, his enemies, and their daily round becomes of the utmost concern to him. There is, in brief, familiarity bred of identification.

The newspapers take the puny youth out on the gridiron, running track, baseball diamond with his favorite heroes. On the mystic pages the soda clerk associates with the big leaguers until he knows what they eat and how much they weigh, until he is the worshipper of one man and the merciless critic and contemner of another. The youth in the over-feminized environment can be a vicarious gangster, the henpecked husband can fancy himself Valentino, the boarding house drudge can depict herself as Mae Murray—and all for two or three cents.⁶

Really good news today is that which presents a situation to the reader in such a manner that a maximum of identification is possible.

The fact is clear; the significance also is not hard to see. If the individual identifies with the situations and the characters portrayed in the one or two "big" stories that every paper aims to carry in each issue, if he experiences the emotions of the characters of whom he reads or the situations in which they find themselves, there will be induced in him attitudes and evaluations reflecting these persons and situations. The values of the news story thus become the values of the reader. Inevitably they will modify his conduct and his outlook on the world in which he lives. Intense, striking, human, personal—the modern news story is a constant inculcator of values, stereotyped though they may be.

MOTION PICTURES INFLUENCE PATRONS

Much that has been said of the newspaper can be repeated of the

⁶ Leech, Harper, and Carroll, John C., *What's the News?* p. 9, Covici.

motion picture. This agency of communication may be described as a visualized day-dream, in which the degree of identification of the audience is high. It is well known that producers strive to have the settings rich, to dress their heroines elaborately, and to have their heroes handsome. A recent study indicates that formal clothing is worn in over a third of all pictures produced. The effects of the motion picture on values and attitudes constitute a problem of bewildering complexity; yet all evidence points to profound influence, not only in matters of dress, but in manners and etiquette, in standards of behavior, in ideas of luxury, and in countless other subtle ways.

Any discussion of this topic must be premised upon a realization of the tremendous *vitality* that the pictures possess for their nation-wide audience—a vitality growing out of identification. Pictures, and actresses and actors, by the average movie-goer, are taken with a seriousness unrecognized by observers who employ formal criteria of judgment. No other agency of communication operates under such favorable conditions as the motion picture. Darkened rooms, the exclusion of irrelevant and distracting stimuli, bodily ease and comfort, focused attention, and the combination of voice, music, and visual image offer optimum conditions for identification with the situations portrayed. There is no need to dwell upon the fact that such identification prevails in the motion picture theater; everyday observation testifies to it.

How strong is the grip of the film world upon the patron is indicated in part in the vast number of letters that come to the desks of editors of motion-picture "fan magazines." One such editor receives over 80,000 letters a year. A single article in his maga-

zine discussing the relative merits of two screen luminaries, produced, unsolicited, 15,854 letters in a single month! Partisans whose own lives had become identified with the actresses concerned rallied to the support of their particular "friend." Existing in imagination only, here was an emotional reality as vivid as any experience in everyday life itself.

TESTIMONY OF "MOVIE FANS"

It is not only intense partisanship that these letters portray. A surprisingly large number are self-revealing in that the writers naïvely disclose both deliberate and unconscious copying of the mannerisms, the movements, and the diction of screen figures, or the acceptance of these as preferred qualities in the opposite sex. They disclose the degree to which personality traits are created, and ego ideals molded in relation thereto. A few illustrations culled from thousands of such letters will suffice:

When I saw Miss Moran wear that lovely dress (the one in the India scene; it is the one with the tight fitting bodice and a long, ankle flared skirt) I went simply wild over it. I went five times to see that play in order that I might get a better glimpse of that dress. . . . Please tell me where I could get a pattern of that dress.

Here (at the motion picture) I learn what to wear; how to dress; how a refined home should look into which my clever children could be proud to bring their friends. There is every opportunity in the movies for a keen, quick eye to observe the better way of living.

I look upon the manners, actions, and general atmosphere portrayed in motion pictures as the guide to what is "correct." For instance, two of my girl friends were discussing the correctness of wearing gloves with formal evening gowns. Neither was sure. I had recently seen Mary Astor doing this very thing in "Ladies Love Brutes" and I told this to my friends.

They accepted the decision without further comment.

For teaching me how to be graceful and attractive I would like to hand a well-deserved bouquet to Garbo. One could sit for hours and watch the exquisite grace of her bearing alone.

I have attended many movies and went home and arranged my home like I have seen at the movies; my curtains, my pictures, and they also teach how to walk and dress.

I am a movie fan and like the dress of actors and actresses. I saw Buddy Rogers in a picture and I was wishing I could have the clothes he wore. I try to act like him but I can't, he is always dressed nice.

Each month's mail brings hundreds of letters requesting information about the availability of dress patterns, concerning points of etiquette, inquiring where house furnishings of given types seen in motion pictures may be procured, and so on—all indicative of the inculcation of moving-picture standards. But it is the expressions of opinion on various matters that come by the thousands that testify to the strength of the public identification with motion-picture stars.

Business interests have been quick to take advantage of this prestige of motion-picture actresses and actors. A commercial mechanism has been developed whereby manufacturers and retailers of women's clothing are acquainted in advance with the specific garments worn by popular stars in forthcoming productions, in order to be prepared to meet the demand that invariably follows the release of the picture.

IMPORTANCE OF ALL AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION

Of both the motion picture and the newspaper, it has been said that their appeal is fundamentally based upon Sex, Shivers, and Spondulix. No quantitative rating system is available to

enable the student of either to ascertain with any degree of exactness the extent to which these or other values are carried over from these agencies of communication to the world of everyday life. Yet with such testimony as is available, though qualitative and descriptive, it is hard to escape the impression that there is such a carry-over. The newspaper and the motion picture both stress elements that are part of the domestic pattern. Romance is a recurring theme, and conflict within the family pattern is a favorite subject matter for both. With both there is strong identification of emotion. And when, as the motion-picture fan letters attest, there is copying of external details, it is probable that there is equal copying (to a considerable degree unconscious) of the more subtle values and standards that are present in the papers and the pictures.

It is because the newspaper and the motion picture present such favorable possibilities for identification with the materials that they present that they have here been singled out for special consideration and to illustrate how identifications are achieved. However, the mechanism of identification operates with other social institutions as well. In fact, group identification is fundamental to social cohesion. The impress of the group upon the individual is made possible because the individual has identified with the group and its symbols, just as in imagination he identifies with the situations on the motion-picture screen.

From even so cursory an analysis as has been possible in the limited space here, a generalization may be suggested:

Wherever conditions prevail that permit or induce identification of the individual with other individuals or situations, real or imaginary, the values and attitudes of the others tend to become the attitudes and values of the identifying

individual. The more intense the identification, the greater will be the strength of the induced attitudes and values. Herein lies the importance, in considering social values and their inculcation, of the magazine, the book, the newspaper,

the stage, and the motion picture. Created and designed to facilitate identification, an almost certain transfer of values follows contact of the individual with them. And today such contact is almost universal.

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Marriage and the Law

By FRED S. HALL

"SO you are making a study of marriage laws!" The speaker, who was a prominent English visitor, then went on, "I am much interested in that subject. What conclusions have you reached concerning the indissolubility of marriage?" The question is evidence of a widespread state of mind. Marriage laws are not concerned with indissolubility. That is a question of divorce. Nevertheless, if the subject of marriage laws is mentioned to the average man, he replies by reference to divorce. It is the only form in which he can visualize state regulation of the marriage relationship.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE CONTRASTED

Though this attitude is unfortunate, for reasons to be mentioned later, it is not surprising. In comparison with divorce laws, marriage laws bear very lightly on those whom they aim to control. In fact, most applicants for marriage licenses are scarcely aware of any legal regulations. In all but fourteen states, the law puts no speed control on marriage, though for divorce the necessary procedure involves a delay of weeks or sometimes months. For marriage, the applicant needs no expensive counsel as is often essential in a divorce action.

In most states there are practically no legal qualifications for adult applicants for marriage which they need to know in advance. But to learn if they have ground for divorce, applicants must have counsel search the laws of the state or states concerned, so that a carefully prepared case may be established, adapted to the particular circumstances and statutory require-

ments. Those wishing to marry may usually do so wherever they choose; but divorce can be obtained, according to law, only in the state or jurisdiction in which the defendant is domiciled. In the few states which limit marriage to residents of the marriage-license district, no stated period of residence is required, and as a matter of administration the most temporary residence is accepted—even the fact (in one case known to the writer) of registration earlier in the day in a local hotel. By contrast, the most conspicuously lax divorce statute—the one passed in Nevada in 1931—requires a residence of six weeks within the state.

MARRIAGE LAWS NEGLECTED

The neglect of marriage laws by those interested in problems relating to the family is one of the most conspicuous facts in American social history. In 1888 Frank Gaylord Cooke¹ and in 1904 George Elliott Howard wrote bitterly concerning it,² but their words received scant attention. Howard declared that:

It may reasonably be doubted whether any people in Occidental civilization has marriage laws so defective as ours. Almost every conceivable blunder has been committed.

In 1911 and 1912 the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws published two acts relating to marriage and recommended their adoption by all states. In 1918 social case workers began to

¹ In four articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 61, pp. 245, 350, 520, and 680.

² In *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*.

study the subject, and this interest was increased after 1919 by studies published by the Russell Sage Foundation,³ by pronouncements of several religious bodies, and by organized efforts for better laws, promoted in several states by leagues of women voters and other organizations. Still, marriage law reform, apart from divorce, has not been taken seriously by any considerable group. In contrast to the divorce law reform movement, it constitutes the program of no national or state organization, and is sponsored as a major purpose by no such agencies.

One of the reasons for the failure of marriage laws to gain public attention during all these years is the fact, already alluded to, that marriage and divorce are usually considered together.

That fact is at once an indication of the usual impotence of marriage laws and an obstacle to efforts for their improvement. Public opinion is sharply divided concerning divorce, some people holding that the laws should be more strict, and others contending for greater liberality. The two groups disagree similarly as to the meaning of the increasing divorce rate—whether it reveals an increasing disintegration of family life, or merely gives today a legal record of marriage failure, contrasting with the failures of earlier years which were never recorded because never aired in court. Disagreement on both of these divorce matters is possible without preventing acceptance of the vital fact that every divorce represents a failure of the most

important social institution in this world—the institution of marriage. Therefore, with the subject of marriage separately considered in a legislative or other program, it is possible to unite forces which can never be brought together so long as marriage and divorce are regarded as parts of the same problem.

Furthermore, when marriage and divorce laws are combined in a single program, as in the efforts so far made for a Federal amendment in this field, divorce gets all the attention. The accounts of Congressional hearings on these proposals cover scores of pages, but scarcely any mention is made in them of marriage laws. One important witness, in 1920, became greatly confused when asked by a senator what states had the worst marriage laws. He could make no reply. His attention had been centered on the divorce features of the proposed bill.

MARRIAGE REQUIREMENTS

What, then, are the regulations most generally applied to marriage by state laws? The substantive requirements for marriage are five:⁴

There must be freedom from impediments, such as inter-relationship by blood, or an earlier existing marriage.

Mutual voluntary consent must be given.

A minimum age must have been reached.

During minority parental consent must be given.⁵

There must be physical and mental fitness to enter into the marriage

⁴ Marriage laws, as considered in this article, are not held to include the large body of complicated statutes and decisions relating to the legal, property, and other civil rights of husband and wife.

⁵ In some states, parental consent is required for all persons below specified ages which are somewhat less than the ages of majority.

³ Hall and Brooke, *American Marriage Laws*, 1919 (out of print); Richmond and Hall, *Child Marriages*, 1925, and *Marriage and the State*, 1929; and May, Geoffrey, *Marriage Laws and Decisions*, 1929. See also Vernier, Chester G., *American Family Laws*, Vol. I, 1931. This compilation presents marriage laws primarily by topics and secondarily by states. In *Marriage Laws and Decisions* the reverse arrangement is followed.

contract and to meet the obligations it involves.

Practically all other marriage provisions are administrative in character, designed to carry out these substantive requirements. The most important are the following:

A license for the marriage must be issued by a specified public official, who is usually required to satisfy himself that the candidates possess the substantive qualifications mentioned above. In a few states—to give time to establish qualifications and to guard against involuntary consent through hasty ceremonies—a period of usually five days must elapse between the application for a license and its issuance. In a few states, moreover, specified documents must be filed to establish the candidates' ages, proper civil status, or physical qualifications.

A ceremony must be performed in which the candidates take each other as husband and wife in the presence of a representative of the state—either a clergyman or a civil celebrant—who must receive the marriage license from the candidates before performing his part.

The ceremony must be registered with a specified public official.

PUBLIC OPINION AND MARRIAGE REGULATION

On their face, these regulations seem entirely adequate. Their meager accomplishments are due to the fact that public opinion is not behind them. Enactments without such support are unfortunately easy in American states. Legislators are anxious to give different blocs of their constituents the laws they ask for, if there is no important opposition to the proposals. In the case of proposed marriage restrictions opposition is rarely expressed, for existing

restrictions have hardly troubled any one.

How little real support the public is ready to give to legal restrictions upon marriage is shown conspicuously in the twenty-four states which recognize common-law marriages. In these jurisdictions the state sets up specific regulations for marriage and then sweeps them aside by recognizing as equally valid a marriage contract which has been made by two people entirely without witnesses or record of any kind. In 1832 the great Chancellor Kent wrote concerning marriage regulations which are thus undermined: "The regulations amount, therefore, only to legislative *recommendation* and *advice*. They are not *laws*, because they do not require *obedience*." ⁶ [*Italics in the original.*]

In states which do not recognize common-law marriages the situation is not significantly different. The prevailing public opinion of such states is shown on the rare occasions when opposition arises to proposals such as those for advance-notice laws. By these measures a few days' delay is required between the official proposal to marry, as registered in a marriage-license application, and the marriage ceremony itself. If that regulation is presented as a bill to avoid hasty marriages—to give one or both the contracting parties a chance for sober second thought—legislatures can be convinced that it is wise, provided ample exceptions are made for immediate marriage in unusual cases. But the proposal will almost surely fail if some senator points out that it will allow outsiders to interfere between two people who wish to marry.

The interference may be because the

⁶ Kent's Commentaries (Second edition, 1832) p. 87. See also Hall, Fred S., "Common Law Marriage in New York State," *Columbia Law Review*, Jan. 1930.

proposed marriage is illegal—the girl concerned being under the marriage-license age, or still of an age for which parental consent is required. That does not alter the situation. In the opinion of most legislators, lovers should make their own choices and accept the consequences. This is more than sentiment; it is an inarticulate social philosophy. While it almost never demands the repeal of existing restrictions relating to marriage, it wishes them enforced, in the words of Chancellor Kent, as “legislative advice and recommendations” to those who are considering marriage, but not as restrictions on their liberty. Any marriage bills which have the latter aim are sure to be vigorously opposed.

Further evidence of the attitude of public opinion in relation to marriage laws is furnished by the treatment they receive on the stage or the screen. The situation is invariably so developed that the audience eagerly follows the eloping young people in their efforts to evade the law, and is only happy when they succeed.

MARRIAGE APPLICANTS DECIDE THEIR OWN FITNESS

Marriage laws are handicapped not only by the lack of supporting public opinion; they have in addition, in their administrative provisions, an unfortunate heritage from the civil courts. This is the time-honored procedure which calls for testimony from the two parties to a controversy and assumes that if one of the two offers no objections, justice is served—or at least no injustice is done—in accepting the testimony of the one immediately concerned.

Whether or not that procedure is adequate for its purpose in the usually contested civil litigations is a matter for others to discuss. How it operates in the marriage field can most clearly

be shown by reference to the advance-notice provisions of the law recommended in 1911 by the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. Applicants state under oath that they are qualified for marriage.⁷ Five days later the marriage license may be issued provided no objections have been filed. Such objections must be made under oath and a specified court hears the testimony of both sides. If the court overrules the protest, the cost falls on the objector. As may be expected, protests are almost unknown; so that in effect, candidates furnish the only testimony on the basis of which their licenses to marry are granted or refused.

In other words, candidates establish their own qualifications for marriage. How completely this is so is evidenced incidentally by the fact that in several states one commonly hears it said that candidates “buy” their licenses for the specified license fee. To obtain the desired document, applicants swear that they have reached the minimum age for marriage, or the age for marriage without their parents’ consent, when they actually are three, four, or even five years below those ages. Feeble-minded persons marry after swearing that they are not, while applicants who are venereally diseased (in New York) obtain marriage licenses on the basis of affidavits in which each one declares: “I have not to my knowledge been infected with any venereal disease, and if I have been infected within five years,” and so forth, reference then being made to alleged tests showing freedom from infection.

In contrast with the willingness of legislators to pass laws of this futile type stands the long list of bills that are defeated each year, calling for a

⁷ Usually only one applicant does so, for in all but seven states only one party is required to apply in person for the marriage license.

physical examination of all male candidates to determine the presence or absence of a venereal disease. Most of such bills, it is true, deserve defeat because of their ineffective administrative provisions; but they are voted down, not on those grounds but because they interfere too seriously with the assumed right of a man to marry with a minimum of questions asked by the state. In Wisconsin, when a law of this type was finally passed in 1913, it was felt necessary to provide that if a marriage-license candidate were indigent, and so could not afford the two dollars for a physician's certificate, the county physician should make the required examination without charge.

CHILD MARRIAGE LAWS

This timidity of the state in relation to restrictions upon marriage is historic. Established long before organized society had formulated its will, marriage was at first accepted and sanctioned rather than regulated. Eventually the conventions of social usage became embodied in the rules of the ecclesiastical and the common law. These relate chiefly to impediments which render a marriage either void from the beginning or voidable under specified circumstances. One of these impediments, presenting the problem of child marriage, is that of nonage—the period during which a boy or girl is regarded as legally incapable of contracting marriage. The incapability, however, is not absolute; it is optional with the child. That is to say, if an underage party desires to invalidate the marriage, he or she can do so by the mere process of separation during the period of nonage or by other act of disaffirmance upon attaining the legal age. In other words, those who are declared to be legally incapable of marriage decide for themselves whether or not they are so in fact.

Although only ten states have left the control of child marriages to this impotent common-law rule, that rule still stands as a menace in other states. This is due to the loose manner in which their marriage statutes are drawn. By general agreement the marriage license is the administrative device through which marriage laws can best be made effective, and efforts for better control of marriage center, therefore, upon a more careful, socialized use of that instrument.

Unfortunately, however, less than half of the states definitely forbid marriage-license issuance below specified ages.⁸ In all other states, either the common-law rule is in force—as in the ten states just referred to—or the license clerk is forced to infer that certain provisions which make no direct reference to marriage-license issuance are really intended to apply to it.⁹ A study made in 1923 indicated that this inference was usually made, but in a few states it was not. In such cases the loose common-law rule necessarily prevails. So important a matter as this should not be left to inference.

COMMON-LAW MARRIAGES

The most fundamental of the common-law contributions to the marriage law of today is the doctrine of common-law marriage, to which brief reference has already been made. In any attempt to discover the relationship of law to the institution of mar-

⁸ These states often make provision for license issuance below the minimum ages in exceptional cases.

⁹ Among the provisions which license clerks must interpret as applying to marriage-license issuance are the following: under-age persons "are forbidden to marry"; they are declared "incapable of marriage"; or it is provided that their marriages may be annulled for lack of age under specified circumstances. That the clerk is forbidden to issue marriage licenses under such circumstances is an inescapable inference in some of these cases, but in others it is a difficult one.

riage, no other line of inquiry is so fruitful as that which traces the history of this doctrine. For the benefit of those who may share the widespread opinion that there is something illegal about a common-law marriage, let it be explained at once that such marriages, where recognized—as they are in twenty-four states in this country—are just as legal and binding as the most solemn kind of ceremonial marriage. They lack social recognition completely, and that is why they are so widely regarded as lacking in validity.

Common-law marriages date from the earliest days of the alliance of Church and State. In extending control over its adherents the Church recognized that it must be supreme in the sacred institution of marriage. Hence its insistence that marriage was a sacrament, and that the vows must be taken before a priest in the presence of witnesses. But in deference to the deep-rooted individualism which is even today a potent force in marital matters, the early Church did not dare to invalidate marriages otherwise contracted. Thus the door was left open to the recognition of common-law marriages throughout Christendom. Following the position taken by the Council of Trent in 1563, the Hardwicke Act closed that door in England in 1753, the Code Napoleon closed it in 1804 for France, and later enactments did the same for most of continental Europe. In the United States, however, common-law marriages persist to an extent unknown elsewhere in the civilized world.

Though noticeable progress in this particular has been made in recent years, attacks upon common-law marriage usually accomplish nothing. "Marriage is a contract," said a lawyer in discussing the subject with the writer of this article, "and what better evidence of the contract can there be than that the two parties have actually lived together as husband and wife?" By the view which this man represents, the state's function is to pass judgment after marriage has taken place. It decides not whether two people may marry, but whether they have married. Though this seems like laissez faire run riot in relation to marriage, it is really only an extreme illustration of the attitude held by most people in this important matter.

SOCIAL EDUCATION NEEDED

At its best the state can do but little to make marriage a socially beneficent institution. The most fundamental influences are beyond its reach. But even for the limited area where social control through law is possible, public opinion is not yet ready to have the necessary laws passed or enforced. A long process of social education is required. An encouraging sign is the interest in the subject recently taken by the Federal Children's Bureau. Beginning with the fiscal year of 1926, it has inaugurated reports on the trends of marriage legislation in the different states. These reports constitute the first step toward permanent organization in this neglected field of social effort.

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Divorce Legislation

By J. P. LICHTENBERGER

IT IS impossible to acquire an adequate comprehension of divorce legislation without a clear understanding of the precise nature of divorce itself. Marriage ideally is a life mate-ship of a man and a woman based upon mutual and continued choice and affection. Upon this relationship both Church and State may set the seal of approval, but neither of them can create nor destroy it.

This ideal, however, is not always realized in experience. Marriages disintegrate and come to an end. Divorce does not destroy them. It is adultery, cruelty, desertion, and so forth, that does so. A divorce cannot be secured in any state in the Union unless and until it can be established by positive proof in a court of record that at some specific time in the past the marriage *de facto* has been destroyed through the operation of causes designated as "legal grounds" in the state of residence. In the absence of such proof the petition is denied. Both historically and functionally, divorce is the socially sanctioned customary or legal means by which the status of individuals is redetermined and reestablished in those cases in which their marriages, from whatever causes, have broken down and have ceased to exist.

The issue of divorce, then, is what control society legitimately and appropriately may exercise over the parties to a defunct marriage. Obviously there are several functions of law in respect to this problem.

Among preliterate societies and in early civilizations the fact of marriage dissolution is recognized as a natural event which concerns mainly the individuals themselves. The group takes

cognizance only in so far as the social rights of persons or of property are involved, or when the social order in any way appears to be jeopardized.

FUNCTION OF DIVORCE LAW

A major function of law, then, is not to prevent divorces or to render them less frequent, but to regularize procedure through which they are obtained by the codification of approved practices, in the interest of conformity and social solidarity. Group safety threatened when the individual exercises unrestrained liberty; he must obey the "rules of the game." The process of legalization involves not only existing methods of procedure by which couples terminate their marriages, but also the establishment of definite standards in regard to what are commonly accepted as valid reasons, aside from death, for such termination.

The chief functions of divorce law, however, in its earliest phases were the provision of adequate safeguards in the disposition of the dower or other joint property, and the redefinition of the status of the repudiated spouse, including the right to support or inheritance, the right to remarry, and the possession and care of children. The ancient codes, from that of Hammurabi to those of the Anglo-Saxons, the Welsh and the Irish, deal almost exclusively with these subjects. While there was little or no direct effort to curb divorces, there did exist the effective practical restraints involved in the loss of property or children, or in the danger of blood feud in case no socially sanctioned cause for divorces existed at the time, or if the personal treatment was too brutal.

To these coexisting and continuing functions, another has been added which has assumed, in the minds of many, a place of paramount importance—viz., that of the conscious and purposive effort to utilize the law as a means of reducing the number of divorces or of preventing them altogether. This attitude toward divorce arose during the medieval period as a direct result of the control over the marriage institution acquired and exercised by the Church. The ascetic concept of sex relations, the theory of the sacramental nature of marriage, and the consequent doctrine of its indissolubility, as held by the Church, combined to constitute divorce an evil in itself, and to make its suppression the chief ecclesiastical concern. This has been for centuries, and continues to be, a most potent influence in molding the traditional views about divorce and in shaping civil legislation on the subject throughout the Western world.

TREND OF DIVORCE LEGISLATION

From Colonial days the control of divorce has been a function of the civil law. This was the result of the inheritance from Holland, and especially from England, of the civil-contract theory of marriage in contradistinction to the sacramental theory which prevailed on the Continent generally. For the most part, however, constitutional provisions placed jurisdiction in the hands of legislative assemblies, and the few divorces which were granted were by special acts of these bodies for causes which in their judgment were sufficient. Gradually but eventually the causes became standardized in the laws to include the customary "grounds." This process continued for several decades after the formation of the Federal Government. By the middle of the century, practically all of the states had transferred jurisdiction

in divorce cases to the civil courts, where it now rests. The various codes define the methods of procedure and include a list of specified grounds on which divorces may be granted.

Toward the latter part of the century it had become apparent that divorces were becoming much more frequent. In 1887 the Federal Government undertook a special investigation of the subject. The report covered a period of twenty years, 1867 to 1886, and revealed the fact that divorces were increasing at a rate three times that of the population increase—a rate which has continued, and of late has even been exceeded.

The effect of this information upon legislation was immediate and definite as might have been expected. The conservative forces, both religious and political, viewed the situation "with alarm" and rallied "to stem the tide." The second Federal report, 1887 to 1906, made a digest of the laws enacted by the states during that period which shows conclusively that contrary to the widespread impression that there has been increasing laxity of law and in its administration, the exact reverse has been the case.

Marriage laws have been progressively revised with a view to the elimination of hasty and ill-advised marriages. The age of consent and the age at which young people may marry without the consent of parents or guardians have been raised in many states. Some states have recently required a period of several days to elapse between the procuring of the license and the performance of the ceremony. Others have required a doctor's certification of freedom from certain venereal and other diseases. Still others now prevent the marriage of the mentally unfit. Numerous states have revised their laws in regard to remarriage of divorcees. Most of

these have set time limits, usually a year, sometimes more, or have extended existing time limits within which remarriage may not take place, several making all decrees interlocutory until after one year.

Divorce procedure has been rendered more and more strict. Safeguards against hasty divorce have been erected by making more adequate provision for notice to defendant and for the appointment of counsel to defend the suit if not contested, and by requiring a longer period of residence in the state, if complainant is not a bona fide citizen of the state, before instituting proceedings. Except in rare instances, the entire trend has been in the direction of greater stringency.

A notable exception to these last mentioned provisions, and a good sample of "rare instances," is the recent action taken by the States of Nevada, Arkansas, and Idaho which makes them conspicuous because of the reversal of the policy consistently adopted by the rest of the states. In 1927, Nevada, which had lagged behind the procession, reduced her residence requirement from six months, the lowest in any state, to three, and Reno at once became famous as a divorce Mecca. On February 26, 1931, Arkansas, and on March 3, Idaho (over the Governor's veto) reduced their similar requirements to three months. On March 19, Nevada countered by further reducing the requirements to six weeks. Whether other states will join in what is generally appraised as a retrograde movement remains to be seen. On the basis of editorial comment throughout the country, which regards it in the light of competition in the commercialization of migratory divorce business rather than a movement in response to a social need, it is not likely to go very far. The very fact that such legislation is conspicuous and calls for

comment, proves it to be radically out of harmony with prevailing tendencies.

With reference to the changes in the laws regarding legal grounds for divorce, no clear-cut trend appears. Some states have added new causes, while others have decreased the number. Some have dropped existing causes and at the same time have added new ones. No radical changes have taken place in either direction, and the changes chiefly have involved only minor causes. At any rate, little effect could be produced by such changes. The only perceptible result of changes in legal grounds is the redistribution of divorces on the basis of available grounds, without any effect upon their number. This is attested by the fact that there is not the slightest connection between the number of grounds in the several states and their respective divorce rates.

On the whole, then, the trend of divorce legislation in recent decades has been decidedly repressive, and the rapid rise of the divorce rate has occurred in spite of this growing stringency of the law and not because of its greater laxity.

MOVEMENT FOR UNIFORM LAWS

The wide diversity of marriage and divorce laws among the states has resulted in much confusion. The Federal Court has held that the full faith and credit clause of the Constitution does not apply to marriage and divorce laws. Consequently a divorce obtained in one state is not necessarily valid in another, and a remarriage legal in one state may be null and void and may constitute a case of bigamy in another. This then, may affect the marital status of persons, the inheritance of property, and the legitimacy of children by the second marriage, when persons change their residence to a different state. It has been argued

also that this confusion in the laws is an active source of increasing divorce and that uniform laws would aid greatly in its restriction.

A great deal of agitation a few years ago was carried on by individuals, by churches, and by other voluntary agencies, such as the New England Divorce Reform League. Considerable public interest was aroused. Sympathetic interest was taken in the matter by the American Bar Association, and about thirty-five states appointed commissions to study the question. Several tentative uniform bills were drafted. In 1905, President Roosevelt in his message to Congress urged state coöperation. Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania took the initiative and in February 1906, at his invitation, a Congress of Governors convened in Washington for the purpose of considering the feasibility of formulating a uniform law to be presented to the legislatures of the several states with a view to its general adoption. Favorable recommendations were approved at this meeting and the general committee on resolutions was instructed to draw up such a law. At an adjourned meeting of the Congress held in Philadelphia in November of the same year, it was adopted.

This proposed uniform law was transmitted through the governors to their respective legislative bodies. After considerable delay it was adopted with some modifications by three states—Delaware, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. Either because of lack of interest or because of positive disapproval, none of the rest of the states, adopted it. Interest subsided, and after a few years nothing more was heard of the matter.

EFFORT FOR A FEDERAL AMENDMENT

It was now apparent that little could be accomplished by this method, and

proponents of reform turned their efforts in another direction. A Federal Amendment to the Constitution seemed the most feasible alternative. The first resolution on the subject was presented to Congress in 1917 but no action was taken. This was followed by the Jones bill in 1919, which was not reported out of committee. In 1922, Senator Albert Capper—importuned by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and backed by several other national women's organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the American Home Economics Association and the Daughters of the American Revolution—introduced a marriage and divorce bill in Congress in the form of a Federal Amendment to the Constitution. The bill, with minor revisions, has been reintroduced in practically every session of Congress since 1922, but without its ever coming to vote. In 1924 it was accorded a hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, but it suffered the same fate as the Jones bill.

Wide publicity, however, has been given the subject in the public press. Arguments upon the merits and the demerits of the proposal would fill many volumes, and cannot be reviewed here. In the present state of divided public opinion, with the open hostility of many states to a law which violates their traditions, to what they regard as a Federal invasion of legitimate State rights, or to the inapplicability of the law to local and diverse situations, it is not likely that the amendment will be submitted in the near future to the states for their ratification, or if it were submitted, that it would be ratified.

It has been pointed out, furthermore, that proponents of the bill are, in the main, conservatives who regard our present divorce laws as too liberal and who are seeking under the guise of

making them uniform to make them more rigid; who believe that the maintenance of the legal status of broken marriages is the best means of solving the divorce problem. Even if a Federal Amendment should be adopted, it is probable that the results would be disappointing. Virtual nullification would probably result, either from lack of enforcement or from judicial interpretation in states which hold conscientious objections to its provisions. Experience with the Eighteenth Amendment is not reassuring.

Whatever else a Federal Amendment might accomplish (and doubtless some of the difficulties due to the existence of forty-nine different sets of laws on the subject would be obviated) it is hardly possible that the main objects of its advocates would be achieved—that it would check in any way the increase of divorces or that it would make any improvement in our unhappy marital situation.

INEFFICACY OF LEGAL CONTROL

In the first place, it scarcely needs to be affirmed that every one that is interested in the well-being either of the individual or of society deplores the breakdown of marriages. Upon that subject there is no difference of opinion. It is what to do about it that divides both opinion and action. Every divorce, as we have pointed out, is the culmination of a tragedy in human experience often worse than death itself. But the causes of these tragedies lie quite outside the domain of law. They are to be found in the frailties of human nature, whether hereditary or acquired; in the failures of husbands and wives to adjust themselves to each other in the intimacies of married life; or in the disorganization of their relations due to lack of serious purpose, inadequate or perverse training or attitudes, temperamental or culture conflicts, diverse

schematization of life, sexual maladjustments, changing ideals of marriage, varied or conflicting interests, economic and social pressures, or any combination of these or a host of other similar factors.

The chief reason for the rapid rise of the divorce rate in recent decades is the greater potency of these factors due to the passing of marriage from a coercive to a voluntary basis; the growing complexity of modern civilization; the passing of the economic and other historic functions of the family; the greater economic and social freedom of women; the general fact that marriage ministers less today to the bare necessities and more to the amenities of life; and the rapidly growing conviction that the only ethically valid basis of marriage is mutual and abiding affection. Thus we are faced with the paradox that while the chances for happiness and personality development within marriage are enhanced, and while the census of the marital conditions shows that the percentage of the population living in the state of marriage is increasing constantly, still, marriages have become more fragile and many more failures result.

What is the way out of this dilemma? In the nature of the case, the attack upon the end result of these conditions—i.e., upon divorce—is obviously *ex post facto* and is misguided effort. It is treating effect for cause. To compel two persons to live together when love is dead, or when it has turned to hate, is to do violence to the moral sensibilities of enlightened people. To deny them the possibility of regaining a lost paradise through remarriage is like passing a sentence of doom in all those cases in which the causes of their marital wreck have been beyond the control of their wills—a condition which is true in the vast majority of cases.

If legal enactments are in any way

to be relied upon to mitigate the situation or to solve the problem, they will not be applied directly to the prevention of divorces after the tragedy of marriage dissolution has occurred, but indirectly to the improvement of marital conditions so that the dangers of dissolution will be diminished. To the extent to which this method is employed wisely and successfully, the number of divorces automatically will tend to decline.

Do the facts support this method of reasoning? As a matter of experience, the attempts to diminish the divorce rate by restrictive legislation have failed. So firm has been the confidence in the efficacy of law to control divorces that many have reasoned *a priori* that the explanation of increasing divorces has meant the loosening of legal restraints; whereas we have shown that the very reverse is the case in regard to legislation, and that divorces have gone on increasing during the same period in which legal restraints have been tightened. In one way or another, persons whose marriages have failed have found some way out of the difficulty.

MEANS OF ESCAPE FROM MARRIAGE FAILURE

One of the early subterfuges was the resort to nullification. Even if the sacrament could not be undone, it still was possible for scholastic logic to find some diriment impediment to the validity of the sacrament so that it could be declared nonexistent and the parties freed from the marriage bond as effectively as by divorce. It is still possible to secure annulment of marriages in several states on grounds which do not admit of absolute divorce. Another method has been that of migration. While never so extensive a practice as has been assumed because of the notoriety of a few conspicuous cases, still it

has been the recourse of a good many individuals by which they have evaded the inhibiting laws of their own states by removal to another or to a foreign jurisdiction where the grounds for divorce were less restricted. This has proved to be a temptation to certain states to liberalize their laws in order to commercialize this method of evasion.

Another escape has been through judicial interpretation or by substitution. Every one knows that the grounds alleged are often not the real causes of separation. Either the court has construed the law to include the actual grounds or their moral equivalent, or the parties have furnished the necessary proofs of delinquency, either actual or fictitious. It has been asserted that a new avocation has sprung up in New York—that of the professional corespondent through whom evidence is furnished upon the only statutory ground for absolute divorce in that state. Does any one believe that the citizens of New York State are more adulterous than those of other states simply because all divorces in that state are granted on the ground of adultery? If other legal grounds were made available in New York, the divorces in that state would be distributed among them. If it should be claimed that divorces in New York State would thereby be increased, the answer is that divorces in Reno and other places to which New Yorkers migrate for the purpose of securing them would to the same extent be diminished, and the total would be unaffected.

Still another method of circumventing the legal bonds of a broken marriage is the resort to clandestine and illicit unions. This the law can and does make criminal, but only with the greatest difficulty and in rare instances can the law prevent it, because of the secrecy of such relations. Suppose for

the sake of argument that all the states should adopt the South Carolina law forbidding absolute divorce on any ground, while at the same time the present causes which lead to an increasing amount of marital wreckage should remain in full operation. Is it possible to imagine a situation which would be productive of greater moral confusion?

REMARRIAGE OF DIVORCEES

Other misapprehensions seem to exist with regard to the remarriage of divorced persons. There is a widespread and popular assumption that most persons who secure divorces do so in order immediately to remarry, and that the law by prohibiting remarriage for a period after the decree has been granted will diminish this incentive and will in other ways act as a deterrent to increasing divorce. Thus, many states either have made all divorces interlocutory for one year, or have prohibited the remarriage of one or both parties under specified conditions until after the expiration of one or more years. There has been a notable increase in stringency in legislation in this regard in recent decades, as explained above. Two fallacies appear to underlie this concept and the consequent legislation.

In the first place, while we have no statistics in this country on the subject, an investigation in Switzerland some years ago, where the conditions are fairly comparable to ours, revealed the fact that divorcees on the average do not remarry sooner than widowed persons, which might be regarded as the normal expectation. And when it is remembered that divorces are not obtained for some time after the breakdown of the marriage, sometimes not until several years after, the comparison is the more striking. Thoughtful people, however, should not be surprised at this information. Often it is

overlooked that the tragedy of marriage dissolution for very, very many is so great as to drive from the mind any thought of future alliances. It is probable, therefore, that the assumption of divorce primarily for remarriage is a great exaggeration.

In the second place, what of the situation in which the assumption is correct, regardless of the proportion involved? Certainly there are numerous cases in which persons do secure divorces in order immediately to remarry. But even in such instances, the breakdown of the existing marriage usually has occurred many months, sometimes several years, prior to the application for the decree. The cessation of marital relations should be dated from separation and not from divorce. The question then may legitimately be asked, whether the deferring of the divorce until after all possibility of reconciliation has disappeared and until the desire to remarry has occurred is not really preferable to hasty divorce immediately after the break.

In normal human experience, persons whose marriages have been dissolved either by death or by some other disaster are likely after a time to form new attachments and to desire to re-establish a home and a family life. If it is known that such remarriage cannot take place when the former husband or wife is still living, until a year or more after divorce is secured, there is obviously the incentive to proceed hastily to the securing of the divorce in order to avoid needless delay in case such contingencies arise. The tendency of such legislation then would be to speed up divorces and to increase rather than diminish the divorce rate.

EFFECTS OF DIVORCE ON CHILDREN

There is space to consider but one more misconception—that relating to children and divorce. Restrictive di-

voice legislation has been urged in the interest of child welfare. What are the facts?

There is no difference of opinion as to the desirability of rearing children under wholesome family influences. Even the foster home ordinarily is preferable to institutional care. But there are many homes which do not meet the requirements. There are very grave misgivings as to the mental and moral effects of subjecting children to the experiences which flow from prolonged and habitual discord which reaches the point of overt hostility and violence. To attempt to compel such parents to continue to live together for the sake of the children is misplaced and misdirected sympathy.

If it is argued that the law should come to the defense of mothers who through divorce would be left to bear alone the burden of support and care of the children, it is instructive to find that whereas two thirds of all divorces are granted on the petitions of wives, in the cases where children are involved the proportion is much greater, revealing the fact that mothers often seek divorce for the protection of the children, preferring to assume this added responsibility rather than to subject them to intolerable conditions.

An often repeated assertion is to the effect that divorce breaks up the family and robs the children of a home. The fallacy of this assumption ought to be perceived at a glance. Divorce, as we have seen, does not break up the family. The family is already broken up. The parents are separated and are living apart. If there are dependent

children, some provision for their care already has been made. They are living with one or the other of the parents, with relatives or friends, or perchance are being looked after by some children's agency. But their position may be precarious and their possession subject to continued conflict. About the only way divorce affects them is to determine their status through the order of the court which grants the decree, which is one of the delegated functions of the court. This, more often than otherwise, is decidedly to their advantage, since they become legal wards of the state, which assumes certain responsibilities to see that adequate provision for their care is secured. The divorce of the parents when these unhappy circumstances exist is more likely to be in the interest of the children than to their detriment.

CONCLUSION

On the whole, therefore, we conclude that divorce legislation has the function of regularizing procedure in the interest of an orderly society, of safeguarding the rights of persons and of property when marriages for any reason have broken down, and that, when indirectly applied to the improvement of marital and impinging social and economic conditions, it can do much to forestall family disorganization and its consequence, divorce. But when it is applied directly to the control or diminution of divorces after marriages already have been destroyed, its effects are practically nil, and if too stringent and too rigidly enforced, it may easily create greater ills than it cures.

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Remedial Agencies Dealing with the American Family

By JOANNA C. COLCORD

WHY are remedial agencies necessary? Such a topic as the one just stated has to be circumscribed and restricted. "Remedial" is the same as "therapeutic," and "therapeutic" implies disease. We must first ask, what are the diseases of the family to which therapy needs to be applied? For convenience, we may divide them into two groups—the maladjustments which impinge upon the family from without, and the complaints from which it suffers internally. As in medicine, whose analogies we borrow, these two conditions interweave with each other, and "uncomplicated cases" are rare.

DIFFICULTIES THAT BESET THE FAMILY

External difficulties spring either from the background or from the present surroundings. Lack of educational advantages in the parents limits the surroundings they are able to provide for their children. Great differences in the ages of the parents, or in the customs and ideals of the families from which they came, often place strains upon the fabric of family life. Similarly, if the parents grew up in surroundings widely different from those among which their children move, the resultant cleavage between the generations is destructive to real family life. We have come to recognize this clearly in the case of foreign-born parents and American-born children, but it is equally a problem when country-bred parents move to the city and attempt to bring up their children in the new surroundings as they themselves were brought up.

A whole congeries of problems centers about income. Difficulties arise

over the apportionment of "adequate" incomes, whatever those may be; and these are often accentuated when the income is all too small to meet obvious needs. The manifestly inadequate income, due not to individual lacks in the wage earners themselves but to causes affecting the whole class of the population to which they belong, is a serious disease striking at the roots of family life. This is not the place to labor this point. It has been many times demonstrated that in our country, in "prosperous" times, the maximum wage which it is possible for large groups of our population to earn will not support a family according to a minimum standard of health, comfort, or decency.

The internal difficulties of the family, as has been said, are hard to disentangle from those just cited. They grow out of maladjustments of the personalities involved; but how far are these antagonistic attitudes due to differing backgrounds and to the stresses of the present environment in which the family attempts to function?

It is, of course, a mistaken concept of family life that aspires to lack of all friction as its ideal. There must be conflict if personalities are to develop; the strengths of family life are found not in a pallid unity of thought and action, but rather in a sense of security and permanency underlying temporary differences, and in the degree to which its members feel an identity of interest—a sense of belonging to a group whose welfare is of primary importance the one to the other. The normal family withstands the pressure of temporary conflict, and emerges tempered as metal is tempered; the weak or diseased family may be shattered to bits in the process.

But our subject is not the strengths and the weaknesses of the family, but rather the social agencies which try to develop the strengths and prevent the ultimate disaster to which the weaknesses lead.

SOME PREVENTIVE AND REMEDIAL AGENCIES

Treatment by individuals—

Undoubtedly a vast amount of treatment of family difficulties is attempted as an individual matter, by ministers, physicians, and other professional people to whom those in trouble are accustomed to turn, as well as by non-professional "friends of the family." The extent as well as the success of such remedial efforts is impossible to estimate, because of the privileged character of the relationship. In most of these attempts no records are kept, and if any existed, they would not be available for study. We get occasional hints from the biographies of professional men of how many family problems were brought to them for counsel; and the experience and the methods of a group of Protestant clergymen in dealing with such problems has recently been analyzed.¹

A few pastors have specialized in advice to those whose family relations are endangered, their methods ranging all the way from an evening set aside for informal consultation up to definitely organized services in connection with the church activities. In at least two instances, these personal service bureaus have been developed much along the lines of a social agency, with trained social and psychiatric workers to assist the pastor.

¹ See Dexter, E. W. and R. C., *The Minister and Family Troubles; a Case Study of the Relationship of the Ministers and the Church to Sex and Family Problems*, New York: R. R. Smith, 1931.

The marital clinic—

There is, however, only one independent "marital clinic" in this country, so far as is known. This is the Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles, California, which opened its doors on February 3, 1930. Sociologists, psychologists, social workers, and physicians are associated upon its staff. It operates upon a fee basis (though it does not withhold its service from those unable to pay the fee) and it deals with both premarital and postmarital problems. It is closely integrated with the other remedial agencies in its locality.

The points emphasized by the Institute in its first tentative report of its findings are that by far the greatest cause of family discord is sexual maladjustment, but that this is almost invariably the result of ignorance and will yield to educational methods, at least among the younger group of patients. Contrary to its expectations, it did not find that over-large families or the fear of repeated pregnancies had much to do with bringing people to the clinic. Next to sexual incompatibility, it found discord arising over the use of the family income and the use of leisure time. The report states:

With a little more than a year of history, a large part of our family maladjustment cases are still open. A canvass of all, however, convinces us that we have been able to give real help to a majority; and that in almost every instance we have performed some real service for the client, even though it might not be to restore an impossible family harmony.

Educational systems—

The efforts of educational institutions in the field of family life have been, as would be expected, largely in the area of prevention. Among the colleges, the most outstanding example

is probably the Institute of Euthenics operated each summer in connection with Vassar College. Its purpose is

to lay before college men and women, parents, and others interested in questions connected with children and with the present-day family, the contributions of the sciences and arts to their particular problem. Two demonstration schools are maintained, the Nursery School for children from one and one-half to four years of age and the School for Little Children, from four to seven. . . . The presence in one school of parents, children and teachers, offers a unique opportunity for the study of problems of education.

High schools have experimented in homemaking courses for girls, and in one instance at least, with a course in family adjustments for senior boys;² but it can scarcely be claimed that our educational system as a whole attempts to offer any effective preparation to children of either sex for careers as the joint creators of homes.

Visiting teaching—

In one of its recently developed services, however, the educational system comes very directly into the remedial side of work with families. This is in the work of visiting teaching. Eighty-seven communities in thirty-seven states had in 1929 one or more visiting teachers attached to the school system, though in few instances are they sufficient in numbers to serve all the schools of the city. Acting as the direct link between the school and the home whose children are failing in some way to function properly, they are able to treat, often in incipient stages, the troubles which would later lead to the disintegration of the family. They have the advantage, moreover, of dealing with families in all walks of life, and not exclusively with those handicapped by lack of income.

² Long Beach, California.

Child guidance clinics—

The child guidance clinics, of which nearly seven hundred will be listed in a directory to be published by the Commonwealth Fund,³ have a similar approach to the problems of the family. These clinics may or may not operate as part of the public school system. They are usually under the direction of a psychiatrist, with psychologists and psychiatric social workers among his assistants. Children who present serious behavior difficulties are received as patients; and the study of each case involves a searching examination into the home from which the child comes. Discoveries of parental attitudes responsible for the child's behavior very frequently lead to direct efforts on the part of the clinic staff to remedy these difficulties; so that while the child's behavior is the "presenting symptom," the real point of attack in treatment is more often than not the behavior of the rest of the family toward the patient and toward each other.

Other educational and clinical approaches to family problems are found in the study programs sponsored by the parent-education movement and in the birth-control clinics.

Parent education—

. . . The impetus for parent education has come partly from parents themselves who have been confronted with conditions and situations for which they were not prepared, either by training or by previous experience, and have sought the help of the specialist and the expert; partly it has come from educators and agencies concerned with child development and aware of the need to reach back of the child to the parent.⁴

The National Council of Parent Ed-

³ Data secured by the National Committee on Mental Hygiene.

⁴ Article by S. M. Gruenberg, in *Social Work Year Book*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, p. 309.

ucation with sixty-one member agencies is the coördinating body in this field. The movement is closely tied up with research in child development, and since about 1924 has developed rapidly, great difficulty having been experienced in training leaders for study groups of parents fast enough to supply the demand.

Birth-control movement—

The birth-control movement, whose basis lies in the population theories of Malthus, is directed to spreading information as to methods of limiting the size of families, and is sponsored by the American Birth Control League and the Voluntary Parenthood League. About fifty-five clinics were in operation in 1929, and ten thousand physicians in private practice are reported to be co-operating with the movement.

Public-health movement—

The remedial effect upon family life of public-health service is difficult to discuss within the limits of a paper as short as this. A leader in public-health nursing has stated that no factor bearing on family welfare is outside the scope of her field. Such movements as the prevention of tuberculosis, of cardiac difficulties, of cancer, of venereal disease, and of mental disorders have a demonstrable relation to the preservation of family life. The enormous movement for child health and hygiene is directed to the assistance of the family in its main task of producing sound children.

Maternal and infant hygiene—

We might single out for a less superficial discussion the movement for maternal and infant hygiene, as placing entire emphasis (except as regards unmarried mothers and their children) upon problems basically involved in family security.

The underlying purpose of this movement is to reduce the death rate of mothers and babies. To accomplish this, it seeks to increase the facilities for skilled prenatal and postnatal care, as well as for care at the time of delivery. Its second major effort is to educate mothers to the necessity of securing such skilled care as can be made available. The encouragement of breast feeding, education in proper artificial feeding, and the protection of milk and water supply are among its direct objectives.

The leading agencies for coördinating and directing effort in this field are the Federal Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, established in 1912, and the American Child Health Association, which resulted from the combination in 1923 of two previously existing agencies. During the following year, the latter agency discovered that in eighty-six cities studied, less than half had prenatal clinics. The passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921, which was administered by the Children's Bureau till its expiration in 1929, greatly extended the facilities, both in cities and in rural communities, for the care of maternity and infancy. \$1,240,000 was made available annually as grants-in-aid to the states which co-operated in the program. At the close of the period, nearly three thousand permanent prenatal and child health centers had been established and over three million visits had been made by public-health nurses to homes of mothers and babies.

. . . During the last five years of the act a total of 19,723 classes for girls, mothers, and midwives were conducted, more than 22,000,000 pieces of literature on infant and maternal care were distributed, and approximately 700,000 expectant mothers and 4,000,000 infants and preschool children were reported to have been reached in one way or another in 2,717 of the 2,953 coun-

ties contained in the 45 coöperating states and the Territory of Hawaii. . . .⁵

Home economics—

The field of home economics is developing educational approaches to the problems of family finance and homemaking, chiefly through the production of what has now become a voluminous body of educational literature, and through training home economists to advise directly on problems of home management under the auspices of various social and educational agencies. The "visiting housekeeper" who used to be attached to the staffs of family agencies to give direct instruction in the home has now been largely replaced by the trained home economist, acting as adviser to the other members of the staff and occasionally developing class instruction for groups of clients. Similar classes and clubs exist in connection with settlement houses, and in some cities, women's organizations sponsor a direct educational service, both in the home and in classes, to housekeepers anxious to learn more about scientific home management. This service is either free or on a fee basis, according to the group which it seeks to interest.

During the last two decades, the savings banks have found it desirable to add a consultation service to small depositors on the management of their incomes. The advisers are usually women trained in home economics, and their clients are chiefly women and homemakers. The more skillful among these advisers have found that the discussion of family finances often uncovers serious underlying problems in family solidarity, and they have in consequence integrated their work

closely with the remedial social and health agencies which exist in their particular community.

A service in this field to families in the neglected rural regions of the country is maintained by the Extension Division of the United States Department of Agriculture, in coöperation with state colleges and universities. Home demonstration agents, trained in rural home economics are assigned to agricultural counties, and work directly in farm homes as well as through granges, clubs, and classes. The last report, issued in 1929, lists 1,286 counties in which this service to families was offered.

Recreation—

Municipal recreation departments, the National Recreation Association, and private recreation agencies have of recent years been developing programs of home play, the aims being:

(a) to encourage provision of adequate space and facilities for the play of children at home, and to discourage the use for that purpose of public streets and other dangerous places; (b) to center the attention of parents on the importance of playing with their children; and (c) to provide attractive programs of social activities for adults as well as children in the home and in connection with neighborhood life.⁶

Pamphlets and bulletins, classes, and the radio have been used to send out suggestions for home games and play equipment, use of back yards and gardens, care of pets, and so on. These agencies have stimulated facilities for family recreation in apartment houses and in congested blocks.

* * * * *

In the foregoing discussion, no effort has been made to separate the specialized "case-working" agencies from

⁵ Article by Blanche M. Haines, in *Social Work Year Book*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, p. 254—which see for a fuller discussion of this subject.

⁶ Article by J. W. Faust, in *Social Work Year Book*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, p. 194.

those whose field includes popular education and social reform. We have excluded, for reasons of space, such groups as do not direct their attention to the individual family at all, but seek to bring about such social and economic changes as will benefit the entire mass of the underprivileged portion of the population. It should, however, be emphasized that the success of such efforts will be measured in bettered conditions of family life. The remainder of this paper will attempt to summarize the remedial efforts of the agencies devoted to social case work with families and children, those restricted to the relief of needy families, and those specializing in legal problems affecting family life.

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

The fundamental principles of this approach to the ills of family life are: (1) the acceptance of the individual family as the unit of operation, rather than concentration upon the problems of one particular member with the rest of the family as the background or setting for those problems; (2) the attempt to grasp the situation as a whole, and distinguish the complex of factors undermining the solidarity of a particular family, by means of interviews and examination of documentary evidence. This process of *social investigation* is followed by comparison and interpretation of the evidence secured, leading to the attempt to make a *social diagnosis*. The final step is *social treatment*, directed to the several ills discovered and to the problem as a whole. This treatment may be of the "executive" type, i.e., may consist in supplying direct needs, eliminating tangible obstacles, or securing for the benefit of the client specialized services in other fields; or it may be of the "leadership" type, i.e., direct action upon the client's habits, attitudes, or

concepts, which may be interfering with his successful relationships and functioning.

Social case work in this field has been, up to the present, confined in the main to the underprivileged group of the population. This means that an inadequate income is a complicating factor in a large proportion of the families treated; and this in turn has led to confusion in the public mind between the functions of a social case-working agency and one whose main reliance is on the giving of relief. Although the circumstances of their clientele have forced the former agencies into using relief as a frequent form of treatment, an examination of their recent literature will show that they continue to insist that it is not their main function, and that "development of personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment,"⁷ continues to express more nearly the purposes they exist to carry out.

The family welfare movement as it exists today is the outgrowth of the earlier charity organization movement, which came into being in England after the middle of the last century as a protest against uncoordinated and demoralizing methods of dealing with poverty. In this country, the function of community organization has been gradually relinquished to other agencies, and the tendency to concentrate more definitely upon the problems of individual families has been recognized in the change of name, which took place about 1918. The Family Welfare Association of America is a federation of some 240 family welfare agencies (which have a variety of names but common standards and purposes) in as

⁷ Richmond, Mary E., *What is Social Case Work*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922.

many different cities. They are non-sectarian and generally privately supported, although a few public welfare agencies are included in the membership. It is estimated that at the present time about a million families with over four million members are under the care of these agencies.

Sectarian agencies—

Two major groups of sectarian agencies parallel the work of the agencies mentioned above:

(1) The Jewish family agencies, of which upwards of fifty have a central organization and exchange reports. It is estimated that this group of agencies has under care each month 18,500 families.

(2) The Catholic family agencies, a movement which is developing out of the earlier and less highly organized work of the Saint Vincent de Paul Societies, through the formation of diocesan family welfare agencies with trained personnel.

The Protestant denominations, except for such parish activities as were briefly described in the beginning, do not generally endeavor to separate the care of distressed families along denominational lines. They rely in the main upon the nonsectarian agencies of the community for such service. The Mormon Church is an exception, having a highly organized relief system in all its several units.

American Red Cross—

The special service to World War veterans' families maintained by the American Red Cross should be mentioned here. Over 2,800 chapters carry on service to ex-service men and their families. These chapters are organized on a county basis, and many of them extend services to other than veterans' families where no private family agencies exist.

Relief societies—

Beside the family welfare agencies which accept responsibility for the all-round treatment of family difficulties, there are, of course, an unknown number which carry on a "relief only" program. It is a question how far, if at all, relief unaccompanied by skilled service benefits family life. Doubtless many families are carried through an emergency without permanent damage by temporary aid from such agencies; but the family which maintains itself year after year only with the help of intermittent subsidies from these sources not only does not function normally, but is usually undergoing a species of progressive deterioration.

Public agencies for needy families—

No figures are available as to the total amount of local public funds which are devoted to the relief of distress. Except for a few of the larger cities, practically all cities, towns, and counties in the United States have public welfare officials, designated by various names, who dispense tax funds for the relief of individuals in their own homes. During the last decade there has been a marked shift of the relief function from private to public agencies. Figures which will shortly be published by the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation will show that the proportion of the total relief bill expended by public departments in eighty-one American cities during the past two years has ranged from sixty-six to seventy-five per cent. The figures are based on returns from 535 separate agencies in these cities. See Table I.

While a few state departments of public welfare have made progress in raising the standards of public relief in local communities, and while some municipal departments of public wel-

TABLE I

	1929		1930		First Half 1931	
	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
Relief from public funds.....	\$30,933,905	74	\$51,367,634	75	\$53,627,331	66
Relief from private funds.....	10,140,171	26	17,323,354	25	27,542,060	34
Total.....	\$41,074,076	100	\$68,690,988	100	\$81,169,391	100

fare have maintained standards that qualified them for admission to membership in the Family Welfare Association of America, it must be stated that comparatively few of them employ the methods or the skills developed by social case work. The vast majority confine their efforts solely to the disbursement of relief. Seldom is this on a budgetary basis, and all too frequently is relief given "in kind"—i.e., in necessities such as food and clothing, issued from central commissaries. It is probable that with the increasing volume of relief assumed by public agencies, and with the development of state bodies which can adequately supervise the local communities considerable strides will be made by public departments during the next few years in affording not only relief but also skilled social service. The newly organized American Association of Public Welfare Officials is expected to exert increasing influence along these lines.

Mothers' aid—

Although it is directed specifically to stabilizing and conserving what remains of broken families, mention should be made here of mothers' aid, since it employs the same methods of social case work used with complete family groups. It is a form of public relief, in that it is supported by tax funds, but its entire development has

been separate and distinct from the system of public welfare described above. While the form of administration differs in different states, supervision by a central state authority is usual and state funds are commonly employed, either entirely or on the principle of matching by local communities. It is estimated that upward of two hundred thousand children are maintained in their own homes by means of mothers' allowances, and that thirty million dollars a year is expended for the purpose.

Standing as it does midway between family social work and children's social work, mothers' aid forms a convenient bridge to our next topic.

CHILDREN'S SOCIAL WORK ³

We shall not consider here the large group of social agencies engaged in the institutional care of children. In the judgment of the agency concerned, permanent custodial care for children means the complete failure of the families from which they have been removed, to serve their primary purpose. Even in institutions to which temporary commitments are made, there is seldom any department of the staff which is engaged with direct remedial

³EDITOR'S NOTE.—For further discussion of this subject see *ANNALS* volume on "Postwar Progress in Child Welfare," published Sept. 1931, edited by J. Prentice Murphy and James H. S. Bossard.

work with the families from which the children came. In so far as any work at all is done with these families, it is by other types of children's or family agencies.

For the purposes of this discussion, then, remedial agencies in the children's field are:

Protective agencies—

These deal with families which have deteriorated to the point where the children need protection against neglect or abuse by their own parents. This function is closely bound up with the juvenile courts, which we mention later. The number of private societies for the prevention of cruelty to children is now less than fifty, and is decreasing as public agencies more effectively take over the duty of guardianship toward neglected children.

Child-placing agencies—

These deal with families where, for other reasons than those given above, the members of the family must be temporarily or permanently separated, and the children placed in foster homes. These may be boarding homes, free homes, or homes for adoption. Institutions may also be used when the conditions definitely demand it; but the emphasis is placed by these agencies on foster-home care.

Both the protective and the child-placing functions are frequently combined in a single agency. In both types of work, while the approach is specialized, the emphasis is laid quite as definitely as in the family field upon the child's own family as the most desirable place for him to be. Consequently the first effort of each is to strengthen or to restore the family group to the point where it can remain intact, using the same methods as those briefly described under family social work. If this effort is not suc-

cessful, the agency becomes the permanent custodian or guardian of the children of the disintegrated family. The legal division of children's problems into "dependency, neglect, and delinquency" is not greatly regarded in the practice of these agencies, it being recognized that a delinquent child is only one variant of a neglected child, and that dependency may lead to many unfortunate manifestations.

There is a less well-marked line of division than in the family field between agencies operating privately and those in the public field. In several progressive states, the state government has assumed almost total responsibility for neglected, dependent, or delinquent children within its borders; in others, their care is largely in the hands of the private agencies. There are no figures later than 1923 for the children in these classifications in the United States. At that time there were 404,678,⁹ divided as follows:

TABLE II

In institutions or receiving homes. . . .	204,888
In foster homes:	
Free.	51,164
Boarding.	22,281
In own homes (mostly supported by Mothers' Aid).	121,441
Elsewhere or not reported.	4,904

The agencies chiefly concerned with the development of standards in the children's field are the United States Children's Bureau, which maintains close relations with state departments of child welfare, and the Child Welfare League of America, whose present membership of 139 agencies includes 16 state departments of child welfare, 5 protective agencies, 3 maternity homes, 83 child-placing agencies, and

⁹ *U. S. Census Report on Children Under Institutional Care, 1923*, p. 14.

20 institutions for children, as well as some miscellaneous agencies.

LEGAL ASPECTS¹⁰

Marriage laws—

The laws governing marriage have been the object of concern and effort on the part of social workers and others during the past few years. The main efforts have been: (1) to secure the passage of uniform marriage laws in the several states; (2) to prevent the marriage of immature persons; (3) to introduce a waiting period between the application for a marriage license and its issuance, in order to reduce the number of hasty marriages; (4) to do away with common-law marriage by requiring that each marriage be licensed and registered; and (5) to introduce provisions securing mental and physical fitness in those allowed to marry. The volumes issued by the Russell Sage Foundation on these subjects¹¹ undoubtedly gave great impetus to this movement, which has been attended with varying success in different states.

Legal aid—

Agencies to provide legal advice and counsel to those unable to afford the services of attorneys exist in 43 of the larger cities, handling approximately 170,000 cases a year. In the main, these are involved with the defense of clients against extortion or the recovery of sums due them; but a number of legal aid societies also give advice on family problems such as custody of children or desertion or nonsupport, and may even handle actions for divorce. The best practice among these agencies considers the social as well as the legal aspects of the case, and at-

¹⁰ EDITOR'S NOTE.—For further discussion of this subject see ANNALS volume on "Law and Social Welfare," published Sept. 1929, edited by John S. Bradway.

¹¹ See "Marriage and the Law," by Fred S. Hall in this issue, p. 110.

tempts to reach agreement among the members of the family before proceeding to court action.

FAMILY COURTS

Under this title we have grouped juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations, which are sometimes found combined but are more frequently separate judiciary bodies. In theory, both admit social as well as legal evidence, and have informal powers as to their rulings and jurisdiction. In practice, they vary widely, and the failure to develop uniform standards has been a disappointment to those who have sponsored the movement.

The use of social workers known as probation officers to extend the supervision of the court into the home is a marked feature of the family courts; but here again there has been a wide variation of standards, the necessity for the appointment of trained social workers as probation officers not being generally accepted by the courts. In 1928, there were 3,702 probation officers listed in the United States and Canada.¹²

Juvenile courts—

The United States Children's Bureau in 1918 studied 2,391 juvenile courts, only 321 of which were found to conform to the minimum standard defined by the Bureau as follows:

- (a) Separate hearings for children's cases;
- (b) informal or chancery procedure including the use of petition;
- (c) regular probation service both for investigation and supervisory care;
- (d) detention of children separate from adults;
- (e) special court and probation records, both legal and social;
- and (f) provision for mental and physical examinations.

The general aims stated by the Bureau in 1923 are that the court should have

¹² Directory of the National Probation Association.

broad jurisdiction embracing all classes of cases in which a child is in need of the protection of the state, whether the legal action is in the name of the child or of an adult who fails in his obligation toward the child; and furthermore,

scientific understanding of each child; treatment should be adapted to individual needs; and there should be a presumption in favor of keeping the child in his own home and in his own community, except when adequate investigation shows this not to be in the best interests of the child.¹³

There are no adequate statistics as to the present number of juvenile courts or the number of families dealt with. Sixty-five courts which reported during 1928 handled over fifty-five thousand cases. In addition to their work with neglected and delinquent children, the juvenile courts in seventeen states administer mothers' aid.

Domestic relations courts—

These courts may be limited to questions of family desertion or nonsupport, or may include the power to grant divorces. Some courts which grant divorces have appointed officers called "proctors," whose function is to hold informal preliminary hearings and seek by reconciling differences to avoid court action.

It is obvious that when the differences between married persons have reached the point where one feels it necessary to institute court action against the other, the fabric of family life has already suffered severe strains.

¹³ From an article by Charles L. Chute, in *Social Work Year Book*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, p. 234.

The punitive activities of the court, can scarcely be regarded as remedying the essential discord. When the procedure is elastic enough to admit of preliminary informal hearings, and when probation officers who are skilled social case workers are assigned to the task of studying the case and attempting to bring about a reconciliation, real remedial action may be brought to bear. The instances where the family life has been rehabilitated after court action has proceeded to a conclusion are, however, not so frequent as to warrant large claims for the court as a remedial agency.

* * * * *

We have attempted, from the vast array of educational, medical, and social agencies whose efforts are in the remedial and preventive field, to select a few which are directed toward the betterment of family life in various ways. The treatment has been necessarily sketchy, and more in the nature of a directory than an adequate discussion of any one field. Impressive as the total may seem, it should be pointed out that, with exceptions which have been noted, the major portion of the direct assistance offered to individual families in the improvement of home life is in the large cities. It is true that here the conditions which tend to break down family solidarity are most operative; but the conclusion cannot be avoided that for by far the majority of the inhabitants of this country, services such as those described are unattainable.

Miss Joanna C. Colcord is director of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. She is the author of "Broken Homes" (a treatise on family desertion); "Roll and Go" (a compilation of folk songs of the sea); and numerous

The Family Society and the Depression

By PAUL L. BENJAMIN

THE depression has been cutting a deep gash across the landscape of family social work in the United States. This is partly due to the catastrophic effects of prolonged unemployment upon all phases of American life. It is also partly due to the peculiar genius of social work in this country, its history and development.

The seeds of social work in this country—some of them transplanted from the Old World—found a rich and fertile soil. Here were black loam for the plow, virgin land for the taking, unsullied resources of coal and oil and timber, vast riches beckoning to the hardy and adventurous. Here, too, the daring could, if they chose, throw off incrustated folkways and century-old traditions like an old cloak. A new world lay before the intrepid spirit. All this gave "rugged American individualism" its opportunity. It has also given family social work its chance for deep concern for the individual without being fettered too much with distracting problems which have been part of the European scene. Here, also, social case work has come to flower with its skills and technique in dealing with individual human problems. As the depression continues, with its hunger marchers, its bread lines, its gaunt-faced men and starved children, will American family social work continue on its old orbit, or be deflected from that course? What is the evidence brought forth by the present depression and its effect upon family social work?

PROBLEMS FACED

In general, the past several years have meant straining upon the part of

family agencies to adjust themselves to sharply increasing case loads, changing clientele, dilution of standards, the clamoring for relief, and changes in staff personnel, policies, and techniques. Agency workers have seen the heart-breaking deterioration of human beings which is a concomitant of severe unemployment, with evictions, exhaustion of funds and the resources of kinsfolk, undernourishment of children, and a long train of human ills.

This twisting of family societies caught in the tailspin of a depression, is reflected in the statements of the supervisors of two such organizations. Miss Frances L. Hill of the Scranton society writes:

It is my opinion that on the whole, a period of unemployment lowers the standards of case work in the family society. The intake comes in floods, usually unevenly distributed throughout the organization, making a superficial investigation necessary on new cases and depriving the normal case load of the worker's time.

Miss Hill points out, however, that there have been gains as well as losses. She has noted a new interest in economic problems on the part of beginning workers, and an awakened interest in working conditions.

Miss Caroline Bedford of the St. Louis Provident Association declares:

There is a limit to the number of trained workers available in a community, even though that limit is by no means so narrow as we once supposed. There is a limit to the number of untrained workers and volunteer "aides" which a given organization can absorb, even though that limit be stretched by improvements in organization and in supervisory skills. There is a limit, also, to the number of cases which a

visitor can carry, even though her service be spread dangerously thin by increasing her office interviews, by "short cuts" in investigation and treatment, and by closing her eyes to the less pressing problems.

In the face of such difficulties there has been an amazing resiliency shown by family societies. Their staffs have been the shock troops of the depression. With patience and fortitude they have met mounting case loads and long hours. In one Middle Western city, for instance, last year the case load increased over 200 per cent, while the staff increased less than 20 per cent. Wendell F. Johnson, director of the Social Service Federation of Toledo, who made a careful appraisal last year of the national situation, came to the conclusion that

family agencies have been called upon during this unemployment emergency to bear the major responsibility in their respective communities for seeing that the unemployed and their families shall not suffer from want of the necessities of life, and that they have in general measured up to that responsibility in perfectly heroic fashion.

One of the most pressing problems which have confronted family agencies has been the question of where responsibility should lie for the bulk of unemployment cases. According to the Family Welfare Association of America,

the entire load has often been undertaken first by the family agency, responsibility being assumed by the public agency or a newly created unemployment committee only as it became evident that the burden was too heavy for the family society. Often the next plan made was for the public agency or the new unemployment bureau to take over all the unemployment cases at the time funds were released or the new machinery created. When such plans were actually put into operation, however, they frequently did not prove entirely satisfactory because of the fact that, even in families where unemploy-

ment was the outstanding problem, the case-work care needed in addition to relief could not be given. On this account, these mutually exclusive arrangements had to be modified.

In a number of cities the family society has referred cases in which unemployment is the chief problem to a public agency or an unemployment relief bureau. The private organization has then assumed no further responsibility. Where, however, the family situation is complicated by problems other than those of unemployment, the case is referred back to the private society. Relief is met by the public agency.

In some cities the private agencies have not been accepting any unemployment cases.

In still other communities, family societies have hired special workers to handle unemployment cases or have adopted some special plan.

Almost uniformly, agencies have materially increased their staffs. Clerical assistants and aides have provided an auxiliary service as assistants to regular case workers, rather than carrying cases themselves. Thus the Wheeling Associated Charities secured an attorney to assist in cases involving evictions, garnishees, and workmen's compensation. The Jewish Social Service Association of New York City assigned a worker to the Municipal Employment Bureau to handle clients of the organization. The Orange Bureau of Associated Charities employed a telephone and contact worker. The St. Louis Provident Association during the Winter of 1930-1931 added 340 volunteer aides to its staff.

One of the significant factors emerging from the situation is the "rediscovery" of the volunteer by family societies. The trained worker has been like the West Pointer in a hastily mobilized army. She has been the

supervisor, the consultant, the person back of the line. Miss Mary Bogue of the staff of the Family Welfare Association of America is of the opinion that

one of the by-products of the catastrophe may well be that with the differentiation of treatment and with a better client participation, we may at the same time develop volunteer participation which is thoroughly integrated with the functioning of the family field and in which the volunteer is made to feel that he is receiving as well as giving a service.

Certainly this winter, agencies have widely recruited volunteers. The Omaha Family Welfare Society has tried to match every paid worker with a volunteer. The volunteer staff of the Duluth Family Welfare Society has almost equaled the paid staff.

CASE WORK

The depression has challenged the case-work concepts and techniques of agencies. Workers have glibly talked about "relief being a tool in treatment," controlled case loads, "A" cases on which intensive work was done, the psychiatric approach, and so forth. The most discussed book dealing with case work written in years declares that the emphasis is shifting in case work from social welfare to "individual therapy." Case-work philosophies are sprouting up like poppies in the social-work garden. The depression has accentuated some tendencies, blighted others, and brought the divergent schools into sharp relief. Case work had already moved out of the area of discipline into that of sharing and participation between the worker and the client in the making of plans.

With the lowering clouds of unemployment as a background, there have been those who have visioned case work as "personality adjustment through a treatment relationship."

A year ago at a state conference of social work, I heard the director of a psychiatric clinic declare that any well-integrated man could secure work even during an unemployment period. There seemed to be implicit in his statement the feeling that somehow the difficulty lay within and not without.

The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our stars,

But in ourselves, that we are underlings.

This point of view is expressed by its advocates in such terms as: "helping the client to get to his own problem and to work on it in his own way"; "as to the client himself we have come to a deeper realization that the problem is *his* problem and his to work on"; "considering the whole social organization we may see that if the client can work things out himself to a certain solution his behavior may be more socially acceptable and he may be happier."

Miss Florence Waite, writing recently in *The Family*, rather challenges the above position. She states:

We may, for example, overemphasize personality factors in a situation without realizing to what extent the stress and conflict are caused or accentuated by the constant threat of the wolf at the door—or if not the wolf, the landlord or the furniture installment collector; or we may aim at treatment ends for which clients cannot free their minds and energies because they are too harassed by the business of keeping alive on any terms.

There is, of course, no gainsaying the thrust and stab of environment upon personality. Any one who has been interviewing, as I have, the bond salesmen, the accountants, the writers, and the skilled workers whom employment has thrown into the discard, realizes poignantly the searing effects upon personality of forces beyond the control of the individual. At the same time, the ganglia of emotions tied up in every

person make treatment directed at personality adjustment imperative.

Another emerging fact is the growing importance seen in short-time contacts, and with it a questioning whether case work must necessarily accompany all giving of relief. Miss Laura A. Merrill of the Philadelphia Family Society comments that her organization last year came to recognize that

it is a wasteful use of a good case worker's time to give or try to give case-work services to a family whose only desire and need is relief, but we no longer feel culpable when we give money only in a family which, except for accident, illness or unemployment, would be self-maintaining and self-directing. I am not sure that leaving such a situation unprobed and untouched is not often the greatest case-work service we can render.

Miss Mary Bogue further believes that

we have been rudely awakened to the realization that case work is not a substitute for relief; that the public agencies which supply three fourths or more of all relief expenditures may properly be said to be doing a truly preventive job in so far as they are maintaining homes in which children are adequately nurtured; that income and economic security is itself a therapy, a prop to other securities.

RELIEF

According to the Association of Community Chests and Councils, which released the data on October 16, 1931, the relief need for next year of 314 cities with a combined population of 46,685,595 in 45 states is \$170,090,130. Of this amount \$142,670,130 is for "home relief," and \$27,420,000 for work relief. These cities estimate that 60.9 per cent of home relief must come from city and county treasuries, 37.6 per cent from private funds, and the remainder from miscellaneous sources.

In considering these estimates as

bearing upon the total needs of the country, the Association cautions that three vitally important points must be kept in mind; namely, "that this estimate represents only the needs of the larger cities" where "there are well-established welfare and relief agencies"; "that this estimate is for 'relief' in the narrowest sense of that term: direct aid to the needy, in their homes, in the form of food, fuel, rent and clothing. It does not provide for nursing, medicine, or institutional care of any kind"; that "the total estimate of \$27,420,000 for work relief is not all that will be spent in this manner. Only 29 of the 314 cities answered the query regarding this type of relief."

The Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation has been securing relief data from a large number of agencies since early in 1929. These figures throw much light upon the trend of events. The main relief curve shows a sharp upward trend from the 1929 level in 1930 and a still sharper rise in 1931. It shows relief expenditures in August of 1931 to have been almost two and one-half times more than in August 1930, and nearly four times as high as those in August of 1929.

The August bulletin of the Department reveals that 77 per cent of August relief was spent in local public departments, as against 23 per cent by private agencies. Based upon figures compiled by the Federal Children's Bureau in 66 cities in the United States during the first 6 months of 1931, some 70 per cent of the amount (\$23,340,000) spent for family relief was given by public departments as compared to 30 per cent (\$7,039,000) expended by private agencies.

There was sharp difference of opinion as to whether or not relief funds would be adequate this winter. In its press release of October 16, 1931, the

Association of Community Chests and Councils estimated that in 177 cities with a population of 33,932,000 the prospects were excellent for their securing the relief funds they needed; in 71 cities the prospects were fair, and in 39 they were poor.

Hearings on the question were held the latter part of December 1931 and early in January 1932 by a Senate Committee under the chairmanship of Senator La Follette. Samuel A. Goldsmith, executive director of the Jewish Charities in Chicago, testified that the loss of wages in Chicago amounts to about \$2,000,000 a day, while \$100,000 a day is expended in relief. He stated, "Chicago has nothing to carry on with beyond February 15." William Hodson, executive secretary of the Welfare Council of New York City, declared: "We cannot tell the total load we must carry, but the total money in sight for relief is not sufficient to care for the families who are going to be in need this winter." Walter West, executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, stated: "There are no amounts in sight from public or private sources that come anywhere near the amounts necessary to meet the needs of this winter or for the next two years."

R. L. Duffus, in an article, "Relief by Guess," in the *New Republic* for October 7, 1931, came to the following conclusion as the result of a questionnaire sent to a considerable number of charitable organizations:

The second winter of the worst depression of modern times finds the United States in the position of an army with only a vague idea of the number and resources of the enemy it has to fight, and with an almost equally vague idea of the extent of its own ammunition and the adequacy of its Service of Supplies.

Perhaps the most tragic part of the relief situation is the niggardly amount being paid in some communities for the

relief of individuals and families. Miss Dorothy Kahn, executive of the Jewish Welfare Society, Philadelphia, testified before the La Follette Committee that "families dependent upon charity were being given only one fourth of the very minimum required to live in decent health." Mr. West described American relief methods as "primitive." A study made in 45 cities in New York State by the Joint Committee on Unemployment Relief, published in August 1931, found that "though larger amounts are sometimes given in exceptional cases, the customary maximum food orders per week (for a family) are as follows: \$7 in 16 cities; \$6 in 9 cities; \$4 in 4 cities; \$3 in 3 cities; \$1.50 to \$2 in one city; and \$3 every other week in one city." In Cincinnati, the Associated Charities spent the following amounts per relief case: September 1929, \$21.11; September 1930, \$18.19; September 1931, \$15.01. Thus there has been a substantial reduction in the monthly amount per family. At the same time it is probable that the families had fewer resources of their own in September 1931 than in September 1929. According to Professor Mercer G. Evans of Emory University, the allowance per family in Atlanta early in November 1931 was about \$3 weekly for food.

Many of these budgets seem strangely alien to a rich and prosperous American. Can it be that the unemployed are being asked to subsist on the starvation diet of a coolie? That is "the dole," with a vengeance.

SECTARIAN FAMILY SOCIETIES

Beginning with October 1928, the Bureau of Jewish Social Research received monthly statistics from thirty Jewish family agencies, showing the number of relief families and the relief expenditures. A summation of this information through December 1930

"is evidence of a degree of stability in Jewish family service taken as a whole, which differs from the experience of other groups, particularly the non-sectarian family agencies and the public outdoor relief departments."

The Bureau of Jewish Social Research in its analysis of the information states:

The information at hand does not permit us to offer a satisfactory explanation for the lag in the effect of the depression as it has been experienced by Jewish agencies. We may suppose that the community-wide dependent group which has been created by the depression consists primarily of the newer elements in the urban population attracted to industrial centers in recent years. These groups have filled the poorest paid jobs and are least well established, so that wide-scale interruption of work results in immediate distress. . . . Our problem may be interpreted in terms of substantial working and middle-class population able to resist minor economic fluctuations, but seriously endangered by a major depression which may bring in its wake economic demoralization and a tragic lowering of economic standards for an entire social class.

Does the rather flattened curve for 1930 and the major part of 1929 continue through 1931? Has the depression assumed such proportions that Jewish families are now feeling its catastrophic effects? Apparently they are. A study made of 30 Jewish agencies in as many cities for the first 9 months of 1931 shows that those agencies spent 41.5 per cent more in relief to 42.8 per cent more families than in the like period in 1930.

In 1930 the National Conference of Catholic Charities began a monthly registration of family relief figures. Some forty-seven different agencies have been reporting. These have also included St. Vincent de Paul societies and a few lay organizations. The amount of money expended for relief by

these agencies in April 1931 was more than twice as great as in April 1930, and nearly four times as great as in April 1929. One of the significant developments has been the large number of new conferences of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul which have been springing up to meet the emergency situation.

EFFECTS ON FAMILY LIFE

Implicit in family social work has been the responsibility for combating those forces which maim and cripple human beings. Francis H. McLean, field director of the Family Welfare Association of America, speaking at the National Conference of Social Work last year, declared that

family case workers today, like the pioneers in the family movement, must concern themselves not only with the personality of the individual, but with all the social and living conditions which may be important factors in personality maladjustments. Good case work demands that case workers help plan community programs, programs where industrial and economic conditions occupy first place.

The Family Welfare Association sent out, in November 1931, "A Call From Family Social Work" to its member societies and individual members. This statement pointed out that social workers and laymen connected with family agencies are at a vantage point "to observe the human effects of economic and industrial conditions." It was also a challenge to the leadership of America. It asserted:

We call upon the civic and industrial and financial leaders of America for concerted effort and wide participation in planning measures which, under proper safeguards in the public interest, may ultimately bring greater security in employment and a more adequate distribution of purchasing power among the masses of the American people.

Consequently, it is pertinent to discuss the impact of the depression upon

family life. There is unfortunately a dearth of exact material available. Indeed, any one looking for conclusive scientific data in this field is sadly disappointed. There are generalities galore, but skimpy record of facts. The Russell Sage Foundation and the Federal Children's Bureau have done yeoman service. But there is need for a special statistical and research organization to serve as the general staff of social work.

It is a happy circumstance, however, that we have available the study on unemployment and child welfare conducted by the Federal Children's Bureau during the industrial depression of 1921 and 1922. Racine, Wisconsin, and Springfield, Massachusetts, were chosen for this intensive study. I shall quote briefly from the report. The whole document is a much more damaging indictment of unemployment and the blight it casts on family life than these few excerpts indicate:

It is inevitable that there should be a lowering of the standards of family life where the regular income is interrupted. When the father loses his job the mother must secure work if it is possible for her to do so. . . . The evidence indicates that in some of these families the money for the family's food was secured at the cost of permanent injury to the health of the mother and neglect of the children. . . .

The investigation made by the Bureau shows that unemployment not only carries with it immediate deprivation and hardship, but leaves a burden of debt and discouragement for the years to come. . . .

The most important feature of unemployment is its effect on the family morale—the father idle about the house, unsettled, disheartened; the mother going out to work if she can secure it, and using up every bit of her strength in the double task of providing for the family's maintenance and caring for the household and the children; the children suffering from the depression and the uncertainty of what the future may mean.

EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

Jane Addams, in the *Survey Graphic* for January 1932, describes a trip which she made with a group of English and American Quakers to Germany in 1919 "to report upon the effects on children of the prolonged underfeeding resulting from the War and the food blockade." She states that although they did not find that children had died of actual starvation, they did discover serious results—stunted growth, rickets, tuberculosis, dulled minds, and warped personalities.

Such evidence as I have seen during the present depression appears to buttress the findings of such earlier studies. The report of Grace Abbott, chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, for the year ending June 30, 1931, points out that some of the smaller communities have not been able to meet the needs of children. This has been especially true in mining communities and in those which have a single large industry. The medical inspection division of the public schools of Philadelphia found out early in 1930 that "many children were seriously undernourished." Upon investigation it was found that "hundreds were coming to school without having had breakfast."

The *Public Health Nurse Quarterly* of the Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh states that

coincidental with the depression there has been a marked increase in the number of cases of malnutrition and a noticeable increase in rickets. . . . The individuals formerly able to afford private physicians are now bringing their children to our child health conferences. . . . Tuberculosis increased steadily in all age groups during the first six months of this year [1931]. More children under sixteen years of age died from tuberculosis during these six months than in the full year of either 1929 or 1930.

Reports compiled by the National Organization for Public Health Nurs-

ing as late as November 1931 led the organization to declare that "two years of financial depression and unemployment have taken their toll in undernourishment of children and young mothers." At a health center in New York City, where the percentage of undernourished children has been carefully tabulated for three years, malnutrition has increased from 18 per cent to 60 per cent since 1928. In Louisville, Kentucky, one organization reports that one thousand fewer children were able to meet the "blue ribbon" standard of health, largely because of underweight. One nursing association in Detroit states that free visits constitute 40 per cent of the total work done—an increase of 10 per cent over 1929. Minneapolis shows an increase of 45 per cent in requests for nursing service over the year of 1930. Miss Katherine Tucker, general director of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, indicates that although demands upon public health nurses have increased enormously during the past two years, 42 per cent of the organizations have suffered a reduction in their funds.

Doctor Walter Clarke, director of the Division of Medical Measures of the American Social Hygiene Association, told the writer that at the Skin and Cancer Clinic in New York City, with which the former is associated, more and more people were coming to the clinic who formerly went to private physicians.

The National Education Association in its recent study, *Childhood and the Depression*, cites considerable evidence of the ill effects of unemployment upon the child. I quote briefly:

A physician has coined the expression "epidemic demoralization" to describe the sense of despair and uncertainty which descends on those who must live by the charity of others. Children share in the loss of security and feel it fully as keenly as adults. A child who discovers that his

father is out of a job, that the rent is due, and that no one knows where to get money for groceries has lost that sense of protection that should surround him at all times.

CONCLUSION

In addition to the material to which I have referred, I have before me two comprehensive confidential reports. One is an inquiry on employment and emergency relief in the large cities of an Eastern state. The other is a document of about a hundred pages based upon statements of nearly a thousand social workers and public health nurses in a large city in the United States. This material, if I had been free to use it, would have shored up many of my statements, particularly in regard to the dire effects of unemployment upon the members of a family and their relationships to one another and to the community.

Indeed, the accumulated evidence is that the tensile strength of families has been strained to the limit this past winter. It has been the unusual family in which the wage earner has been unemployed that has arrived thus far unscathed and without serious deterioration. As Jane Addams has pointed out, where the folkways and old patterns of conduct have continued—that it is a man's job to support his family—husbands have been nagged and harassed to desperation. Like searing irons, the degradation, the sheer fear and panic which loss of job brings, the deprivations, and the bitterness have eaten into men's souls. Children have lost that sense of security which is the essential need of every child. Mothers have faced grim want with hungry children hanging about their skirts. Young wives and husbands have launched their marriages in leaky boats. Who can predict, in consequence, at how many ports of divorce they will land? Yea, years hence, we

shall be paying the price in stupendous charred and twisted personalities. social costs for the folly and stupidity Family social workers! You will have of letting men go hungry in a land of need of all the skill which your ministry plenty. We shall be paying with to human beings affords.

Paul L. Benjamin, Washington, D. C., is executive secretary of the Social Hygiene Society of the District of Columbia, and was recently loaned by that organization to the District of Columbia Committee on Employment as its executive secretary. He has been an associate editor of the Survey Magazine, field director of the National Tuberculosis Association, general secretary of the Louisville Family Service Organization, and director of Public Relations of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care.

Guidance for Marriage and Family Life

By RALPH P. BRIDGMAN

GUIDANCE in preparing for and working through the adjustments required, in our culture, by marriage and family life is sought increasingly today by both young and old from professionals in whom they have confidence. Observations of family instability and unhappiness in marriage, plus interior fear and frustration, increasingly compel young people embarking upon marriage to arm themselves against trouble, and married couples in difficulty to seek help before they are overwhelmed. In the social sciences, rapidly enlarging funds of knowledge covering various aspects of family life appear to be serving both as a response to man's bewilderment and at the same time as one of its causes. Progressive specialization within the professions, and among the laity the growth of the habit of reliance upon specialists also stimulate the seeking and the giving of guidance for marriage and family life.

The practice of such life guidance today is not limited to this country. In Europe many physicians and birth-control clinics are reported to be giving sex hygiene and marriage relationship advice. In Germany alone, two hundred marriage advice stations are listed, most of which serve as reference bureaus from which clients are sent to physicians, birth-control clinics, and welfare offices. In England, one birth-control clinic specially organized for this purpose has experimented over several years with premarital examinations and sex education procedures. Methods there developed are now being introduced into other birth-control clinics. The publication of a

handbook on marriage for the use of advisers of young people has recently been announced by the British Social Hygiene Council. In this country, following national patterns, marriage and family life guidance is both more highly organized and more closely integrated into the routine services of the professions.

This study is concerned with marriage and family life guidance as it is now being practiced by an increasing number of individuals and groups within the professions of social work, religion, medicine, law, and education. It makes no attempt to consider the marriage and family life guidance work of such trained professionals as public-health nurses, social-hygiene workers, camp directors, or community and recreation leaders; or of a number of free lancers in this field, not members of any professional group; or of such popular newspaper columnists as Dorothy Dix and Beatrice Fairfax; or of commercial marriage guidance bureaus whose methods of securing and holding clients are those commonly associated with rackets. The writer hopes that students of social trends and social engineers may find of interest this brief summary and interpretation of a relatively new and rapidly developing control in the changing family life of today.¹

¹ Data for this study consisted of current books and periodical literature which refer to marriage and family life guidance, together with correspondence and reports in the files of interested national agencies, which were supplemented by interviews with from ten to twelve members of each of the professions here represented, to whom warm appreciation is due. I wish to thank especially Dr. Robert L. Dickinson and

I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Social case work today is concerned with the treatment and adjustment of underprivileged and unadjusted individuals functioning as organic units in life situations. In ordinary practice, the professions of religion, medicine, law, and education deal only with certain aspects of the lives of their parishioners, patients, clients, or students.

During its history of fifty years, social case work has been described in turn as the giving of relief, constructive assistance, the scientific diagnosis and treatment of social disorders, and the art of helping people out of trouble. This development in social case work's conception of its rôle has been paralleled by increasing emphasis on the importance of professional training for workers and by the growth of graduate schools of social work. Less and less do volunteers actively participate in case work; they serve instead as members of boards and committees, where they function chiefly as interpreters of the professional worker to the community at large and of the community to the professional.

Instead of telling people what to do, with the implication that they can expect assistance only so long as they follow directions, the professional case worker today aims primarily to make

available to her clients their own unused resources. Both financial and personal assistance is given in such a way that the client is progressively able to get along without assistance. Treatment begins in the first interview and proceeds throughout the history of each case, parallel with the collection and the analysis of data. With the help of her supervisor or a case conference group, the professional worker studies the facts as they are revealed, and, in the light of her study, makes and from time to time revises treatment plans. These generally call for the introduction of new and constructive influences into the lives of clients, and the modification or the active elimination of factors judged destructive. Thus, by manipulating the environment, by building up self-confidence, and by guiding the client in his earlier attempts to use his own resources, the worker endeavors to make possible a more satisfactory, and she hopes permanent, life adjustment. If case work was once exclusively executive, today it is objective understanding, reëducation, and guidance, with respect for the freedom and the individuality of its clients.

This broad sketch of contemporary case-work philosophy and method is not, of course, accurately descriptive of all family case work. In a few agencies, routine social diagnosis and prescription is still the rule, although this is fast disappearing. In others, procedures have been still further modified in the light of the clinical techniques of psychiatry. One group, applying the teachings of post-Freudian psychoanalysis, aim to relate themselves to applicants for assistance and carry on case-work treatment with attention exclusively to the inner problems of their clients, to the psychological factors in adjustment. Helping people in trouble means to them helping people

Louise S. Bryant of the National Committee on Maternal Health; Dr. W. F. Snow, director of the American Social Hygiene Association, and members of his staff in the Division of Family Relations; Worth L. Tippy, director of the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America; and Grace Marcus, case-work consultant in the Charity Organization Society, New York City, for making available correspondence and memoranda that contained much valuable first-hand data, for representing provocative and useful points of view, and for reading the manuscript and making many suggestions for its improvement.

meet their daily life situations with less conflict and less strain.²

A WIDENING FIELD

Meanwhile, most family case-work agencies have come to require of their workers, in addition to skill in diagnosis and treatment through the interview, broad foundations of knowledge in the social sciences. In addition to case workers, some agencies also employ nurses, clinical psychologists, specialists in household arts and nutrition, and psychiatric workers, either to help assimilate into case-work theory and practice the contributions of their special sciences, or to supplement case workers in their approach to clients.

As communities have become familiar with these more recent professional emphases, family case work has tended to lose in their eyes the stigma formerly attached to it. People in financial difficulties more often seek help before they are driven into the streets, and with less sense of shame. Those who come for financial assistance increasingly ask also for marriage and family relationship guidance. Still others apply solely for assistance in solving marriage and family relationship problems.

For instance, one woman from a poor district applied to a family society for assistance in handling a cranky mother-in-law; because, she said, a neighbor had told her she would find some one at the family agency who could help. It turned out that this neighbor was a client of the agency who had been receiving financial aid but who had come to value also the agency's assistance in her family relationship problems. In another city a mother comfortably well off saw "Family Society" in the telephone directory and appeared

before the application secretary because she was upset by the discovery that her husband was teaching their daughter bad sex habits. Such cases, self-initiated by self-maintaining clients, can be found by the tens in the case loads of all family agencies today.

DEALING WITH MARITAL MALADJUSTMENT

Increasingly, therefore, the practice of social case work includes marriage and family life guidance. In most agencies, cases involving problems of marital adjustment are assigned to the more mature workers. It is widely believed within the profession, however, that no family case worker can give adequate service to her clients today without taking sex and marital adjustment into consideration. Sometimes a worker is called upon to help a client to develop more constructive attitudes in a sex relationship. If gynecological examination or contraceptive advice seems to be indicated, the suggestion is made to the client and to her husband, and, when accepted, necessary services are arranged. Treatment is modified in the light of medical findings and recommendations, but the case worker continues actively to carry the case.

While this is the usual procedure within the profession, one agency has developed the policy of referring cases involving problems of sex and marital adjustment to a group of specialists organized into a separate department within the agency. Increasingly aware of the sex life of many of their clients as a factor in family maladjustment, increasingly impressed by the fact that the arrival of additional children was actually prolonging dependency in many families under care, and believing also that the ordinary social case worker could not adequately handle this type of problem, the Jewish Social

² This point of view is ably set forth in *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*, by Virginia P. Robinson, University of North Carolina Press, 1931.

Service Bureau of Chicago organized, in 1922, a sex hygiene department, to make available to woman clients of the agency, referred by case workers with the approval of their supervisors, medical examination and instruction in the use of contraceptives.

Today, staffed by a woman physician, a man physician, a specially trained case worker, and a nurse, this department gives sex hygiene advice and guidance to both husbands and wives. The director believes this service has proved itself indispensable in the treatment of the type of problems with which his organization deals, and that it has helped to reduce sex incompatibility and domestic friction by lessening fear of pregnancy and by increasing gratification in sex relations.

Thus within social case work there have developed two general approaches to the handling of marital relationship problems. One says in effect: Train the ordinary case worker to be ready with guidance on the sex hygiene and marital relationship aspects of her clients' lives, and expect her to use medical and birth-control specialists as she would specialists in tuberculosis or mental disease. The other approach says: These are special problems; the ordinary case worker cannot handle them adequately; cases involving the need for sex hygiene and marital relationship guidance must be referred to and carried by specialists, whose services may be made available either through a department of the agency or through a nearby marriage guidance clinic. Several case-work executives have tried to develop, or have advocated the development of, separate marriage and family life guidance clinics in their communities.

A VALUABLE SERVICE

Whatever differences there may be over questions of method and organi-

zation, all family case workers are united in believing that sex hygiene and marital relationship guidance has proved so valuable and so acceptable to their clients that it ought to be made available to all who desire it. "Although our service has been limited to a small number of cases, there is considerable indication that adjustment of sex relations and the use of contraceptives are important factors in improving sex compatibility and domestic relations," writes a former director of the Chicago Jewish Social Service Bureau. Pointing out that social case work still serves only the relatively underprivileged, and further that its help becomes available rather late in the marital history of badly adjusted couples or unsuccessful families, he proposes that a service be organized suitable to the needs of couples early in marriage or even before marriage. Such a service would not only effect family limitation but the spacing of wanted children so that a longer interval between pregnancies could be obtained. If instituted for the use of couples early in their married careers, it might aid considerably in preventing the development of domestic friction and disharmony which so often bring families to the attention of courts of domestic relations and social agencies.

II. THE MINISTRY

Next to social case workers, Protestant ministers receive, probably, more calls for help on marriage and family problems than do the members of any other profession. No minister can entirely escape calls from families in distress; some ministers, generally those who are also interested in other aspects of "work with individuals," give as much as a third of their time to marriage and family life guidance; but for most ministers, such service is incidental to their regular pastoral work.

Curricula of Protestant theological seminaries are replete with courses in

philosophy, theology, Biblical science, and homiletics; some also offer courses in education, psychology, and sociology; and a few offer single semester courses in the art of helping people out of trouble, only two of which include supervised clinical experience. Protestant ministers in training are given plenty of information, but little or no supervised practice in developing clinically effective methods of work with individuals.³

Ministers in general, however, are more mature persons than case workers (most of whom are young unmarried women), their reading and study are wider, they enjoy greater professional prestige, and they are called upon for help by all sorts and conditions of men. It is not surprising, therefore, that some ministers, while carrying on their general pastoral work and preaching, have developed reasonably effective procedures for marriage guidance or for family life guidance or for both.

FAMILY LIFE GUIDANCE

Parishioners with family relationship difficulties present much the same sort of problems to be found in the records of family case-work agencies: A wife suspecting her husband of infidelity comes asking the minister to talk with him; help is sought in settling a quarrel between a wife and her husband's mother in which the man takes his wife's part, claiming that his mother is insane; a wife appeals to the minister for help because her husband, infatu-

ated with a younger woman, wants her to leave him; a young man and his widowed mother, of whom he is the sole support, increasingly get on each other's nerves, and he comes to the minister, claiming that he cannot live with her any longer and yet cannot support her if they live apart.⁴

In the absence of any professionally accepted guidance procedures, such problems are handled in a variety of ways. At one extreme stands the minister who attempts to locate the guilty party, bring him to repentance, and effect restitution or reconciliation. A minister with this approach invariably tries to keep intact the structure of monogamous family life. At the other extreme stands the minister with a case-work philosophy, who tries to help each individual make the most satisfactory adjustment possible under the circumstances, whether or not the family is kept together.

Whatever the approach, ministers rely for effectiveness in their interview work upon common sense, insight, and human sympathy and understanding. They do not make case studies or keep case records; the brief notes made by some have been considered by professional case workers inadequate for planning and checking the effectiveness of treatment. Many of the ministers who offer marriage and family life guidance, however, keep in close touch with nearby case workers, and in their own work use increasingly the theories and the procedures of professional social case work.

CHURCH CLINICS

In some communities, ministers have found themselves overwhelmed by requests for help or have been impressed by the greater experience of members

³ Five of the larger seminaries list courses for students in social case work, or in interviewing, or on the use of psychology and psychiatry in pastoral work, consisting primarily of readings and discussion. During 1930 and 1931, the Craigie Foundation of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has provided supervised training in mental hospitals for fifty young ministers in order to help them to reconstruct their pastoral work into the guidance and adjustment of human relationships.

⁴ For a fuller summary, see Dexter, E. W. and R. C., *The Minister and Family Troubles*, Richard R. Smith, 1931.

of other professions, and as a result have organized in their churches clinics or bureaus for family life guidance or simply for life guidance. Fifteen such church clinics are now known. They range, in personnel, all the way from a minister (or his assistant trained in education and psychology) plus two or three consultants available upon request, to a staff consisting of a full-time psychiatric social worker or psychiatrist and a secretary plus anywhere from two to twenty-six consultants.⁵ In service, they vary from one afternoon or evening a week, during which 75 individuals are interviewed each year, to regular daily office hours during which 1,100 or more individuals are handled each year. In announcements to the public, the scale extends all the way from offering help "(1) to persons who wish to change certain characteristics which now cause them unhappiness and lessen their effectiveness, (2) to persons in practical difficulties, (3) to husbands and wives who have difficulties in adjusting to each other, (4) to parents who want assistance in child guidance, and (5) to young people who have difficulties in making their adjustments,"—from such broad claims as these to simple announcements that appointments are available for people who have family or personal adjustment problems. In primary aim, the gamut runs from the cure of nervous disorders or of alcoholism to vocational and family life guidance.

⁵ The Life Adjustment Center of the Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., reported in June 1930 that its paid staff consisted of a full-time psychiatric social worker and her secretary, plus the following volunteers: eight psychiatrists, three social workers, five physicians, three child psychiatrists, one dietitian, one home economics adviser, one hostess, one director of religious education, one clinical psychologist, one psychoanalyst, and one clergyman, who in the previous eight months had given, through the Life Adjustment Center, 1,327 appointments to 581 individuals.

These church clinics, no matter what their original purpose and without regard to the quality of their work, are all called upon increasingly for help in marriage and family relationship problems.

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE FOR CONTRACTING COUPLES

Turning now to marriage guidance, ever since a well-known physician made a stirring public appeal to his pastor twenty-five years ago, physicians, sociologists, and eugenists have been trying to impress upon clergymen the importance of the service they might render to family stability and individual happiness if they would train for marriage the young people for whom they perform marriage ceremonies. Today many ministers use guidance procedures, most of which have been worked out individually, but some of which represent the thinking and the experience of clerical groups. The rank and file of the profession, however, still believe that it is not their responsibility to go behind the marriage license.

Pressure is being brought continually against this letter-of-the-law attitude. Commissions or committees on marriage and the home or on marriage and divorce in six of the larger denominations, and the Commission on the Church and Social Service of the Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America have all recommended in recent reports that ministers should be trained to give preparation for marriage and family life to young couples at whose marriages they officiate. In June 1931 the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church adopted a canon which makes it obligatory upon its clergy "to give instruction to the contracting parties as to the nature of holy matrimony, its responsibilities, and the means of

grace which God has provided through His church." At least two national church social service departments are planning to publish in 1931 booklets of instruction to help ministers carry out the recommendations of these committees, assemblies, and conventions.

Many denominations in the past five years have included in their ministerial institutes and conferences, lectures and courses on family life and marriage guidance. An interdenominational office has records of more than a hundred conferences on marriage and family life organized during the last five years by dioceses or districts or church federation areas, in which, besides meetings for young people, there were conferences and discussions for ministers. In December 1931 the Commission on Social Service of the Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America, in coöperation with the American Social Hygiene Association, reached more than seven hundred ministers through conferences on marriage and the home in nine Pacific coast cities, and in each of these cities follow-up seminars have been organized for the systematic study of these problems by ministers. It must be borne in mind, however, that the ministers so influenced are relatively few in number and that such meetings and seminars furnish merely the beginnings of training for marriage and family life guidance.

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE PRACTICE

Actual marriage guidance practice varies widely—all the way from a perfunctory half-hour talk and the gift of a booklet on sex hygiene, to six interviews or more with each couple. Sometimes the minister will talk with the man, and the minister's wife with the young woman. In addition, a few refer couples to coöperative physicians

or to nearby birth-control clinics for contraceptive advice, and still fewer refer to financial experts for help on budgeting. At one city church in which more than five hundred marriages were performed in 1930, a worker is employed solely for conferences with applicants for marriage. An experienced woman with children of her own, she uses when necessary a psychiatrist, a birth-control clinic, and the budgeting department of a savings bank to furnish couples with the information she believes they need for their future happiness. More commonly, however, marriage guidance is given solely by the officiating minister.

Several ministers have developed application forms that call for information which, when given, becomes the basis of their marriage guidance interviews. One explains: "This enables us to discuss at once and without embarrassment such questions as sex relationships and learning to get along with the in-laws." Another minister publishes banns and has his young people declare their intention at public services of worship. Still another, in preparation for his two or three guidance interviews and the ceremony, requires of each couple he is going to marry, regular attendance at his marriage class.

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE CONTENT

The content of these interviews varies widely, from relatively platitudinous references to the home, future children, and the spiritual or sacramental aspects of marriage, to direct presentation and discussion of budgeting, sex relations, and spacing children. One minister describes his interviews with young couples as follows:

My first step is to make sure the couples know how and where to get their license, if it has not already been secured. From that I proceed to inquire whether either of them

has been previously married, and if so, what were the circumstances. Each divorce must be treated on its own merit and as much consideration given to the future marriage as to the blunders of the past. I next inquire as to prospective income, living arrangements, savings, and insurance. It is no longer ethical to marry people without visible means of support, and the clergyman who does so is encouraging a broken home.

From the economic and household side of marriage it is an easy step to inquire as to what thought they have given to the sexual aspects of marriage; what have they read and with whom they have discussed such matters; whether they have decided upon any practical method of family limitation or not.

After this I present them with a marriage booklet which gives careful guidance in the technique of sex conduct in marriage. I do not attempt to discuss these intimate matters with them face to face, for most couples are too embarrassed to do so comfortably, and more of them have no vocabulary or experience to do so if they wished. I assure them of my willingness to give them any needed assistance at any time in the future.

These interviews do not take very long, as a rule, and may be easily concluded by an inquiry as to relatives, their religious preferences, and any necessary details of the wedding ceremony. The very fact that a pastor cares about all these things gives the young couple the assurance that here is one who understands, and if perplexities come, they have in him one who is a true shepherd and a real friend.

Another pastor, whose city church has an active program for young people, says it is generally known that marriage applicants must go through a pretty stiff course of training with him. Here is his description of this training:

After making sure that they understand how to secure a license and after completing arrangements for the ceremony, I explain to them that I do not take marriage fees, because I want them to think of me as an

entirely disinterested third party who is mediating to them knowledge of vital importance for their future happiness. Then I tell them that in my experience money and sex are the rocks on which marriages are most likely to fail and that if young people get started straight in these two matters they will have happy married lives. I tell them how important it is to make a plan for the use of their income, and with the help of some budgeting material from a local bank officer I explain how this can be done. Then I ask them to talk it over together and make a tentative plan; this they sometimes discuss with me later, sometimes not, as they prefer.

Next I explain to them that satisfactory sex relations must be learned, often slowly and patiently, and that happily married couples reach the heights only after several years of experience in cohabitation. Then I talk about the differences between the sex natures of women and men. If I see that they are embarrassed, I give the next part of the instruction to each separately. By this time, however, most couples are willing to have me talk about sex intercourse, which I explain with the help of diagrams. Some couples already know a good deal, either from reading or from previous sex experience. Other couples, including many who think they know a lot, are completely ignorant and have to be handled very carefully. I make sure not to embarrass either by referring to what the other has told me privately and I try to lighten any guilt that there may be over earlier experiences.

The next point, unless they have previously brought it up, is the control of conception. I discuss the hygiene and the psychology of different methods commonly used and secure for them an appointment with a physician, if they wish it. I finish with several general suggestions about physical health and living arrangements. In case they are planning to live with either family or in-laws, I discuss at some length the pros and cons of the course they propose, for most young people have not thought that there are in this generation good reasons against, as well as for, such an arrangement. Then I give them one or two booklets containing the material I have

talked over with them so that they can remember better what I have said.

All of this takes from eight to twelve hours with each couple. More than half come back for another talk before the marriage service, sometimes to clear up a point, more often just to thank me. If they are living in the neighborhood, I make a point of inviting them to another interview two or three months after the ceremony.

This is the plan I have followed for more than ten years and not one of the couples that I have prepared in this way has separated. Most of them have as many children as they can afford, which is what I would expect of couples happily adjusted financially and sexually."

COÖPERATION WITH PROFESSIONALS

The number of ministers who take as seriously as this their opportunities for marriage guidance is relatively small. Among these there are a few who have made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the literature on marriage, sex hygiene, the psychology and psychopathology of sex, the control of conception, budgeting, home-making, and the fine art of living together. Of this group there is a handful who also keep in touch with clinical developments in social work and in medicine, and they are the most competent marriage guidance workers in their profession.

Instead of offering this service themselves, some ministers in the larger cities prefer to call upon nearby social case workers or psychiatrists, or more rarely gynecologists, for the marriage guidance of their young people. In some parishes these professionals are used informally, especially when they are residents in the parish or members of the church. In others, their services are organized into a clinic or bureau.

One city church whose clubs, classes, and discussion groups annually enroll more than 400 young people, most of

them unmarried, organized during the fall of 1931 a carefully planned marriage guidance service. Sex hygiene and marriage relationship questions had long taken a prominent place in the informal discussions of these groups, and their adult leaders had been frequently asked for help in working out problems. Before opening the new guidance service the church staff met with a social psychiatrist for ten group conferences on sex and marriage adjustments, in order that they might know better what types of problems to refer. The service is directed by a psychiatric social worker who has also had experience in educational work with young people, and by a woman physician, with experience also as a university dean of women. Consultants available upon request include the pastor, his staff of seven workers, a man physician, a psychiatrist, a budget specialist, and a household arts specialist.

SUMMARY

Marriage and family life guidance is nowhere an intrinsic and necessary part of the work of the Protestant minister today. Professional social case work has so developed that its routine practice necessarily involves marital and family relationship guidance. Professional leadership in religion, however, may include it or not, depending upon the interest of the individual minister. When given, this guidance may be made available to parishioners in two ways: either directly through the minister, or through a staff of more or less trained workers of which the minister may be a member. The former is many times more frequent than the latter.

III. THE PROFESSION OF MEDICINE

In recent years the treatment and cure of disorders related to sex func-

tioning has been developed by a few physicians to include sex hygiene and marriage guidance. Requests from patients, individual reading in scientific and semipopular treatises on psychology and sociology, and the changing attitudes of a few leaders of the profession, all stimulate this trend. On the other hand, leaving out schools of public health, almost all of the work of medical schools trains students to deal with sick bodies, not organically whole human beings, and to cure disease, not prevent it. There is also abroad in the profession the widespread belief that it is the family physician's job to do all that he can to effect cures but that not much else is his business. Add ambition for professional success, and the consequent necessity for protecting oneself against all too facile and sometimes fatal innuendo, and it becomes clear why most physicians are wary of the socio-psychological aspects of the sex lives of their patients.

Preventing the recurrence of disease, therefore, is within the province of the physician, but not providing ahead of time for marital health and happiness. Rarely will the ordinary doctor, for instance, dismiss a woman patient after a therapeutic abortion or a dangerous labor or a gynecological operation or illness, without prescribing some method for controlling conception. Equally rare is the physician who offers sex information and marriage relationship guidance to recently married patients or those about to be married. Indeed, it is safe to say that there are fewer physicians than ministers who have equipped themselves to offer such guidance.

PROCEDURES OF PHYSICIANS

In the absence of generally accepted texts or clinical guides, the procedures used by these few vary widely. Some report that they tell their younger pa-

tients who ask for help what they have learned from their older patients about the pitfalls of sex; a few mention techniques for putting patients at their ease and for presenting material; and one says that he scales information according to his estimate of what the patient can understand or can endure emotionally.

The most thorough procedures found within the medical profession are those described by Dr. Robert L. Dickinson in publications of the National Committee on Maternal Health. In 1890 he started to collect data on the sex lives of his patients and to try out clinical techniques for premarital examination, instruction in sex hygiene, and marriage relationship guidance. In 1905 he began to persuade his colleagues of the unique opportunity of the physician for preventing serious disorders and unhappiness by the practice of preventive gynecology and marriage relationship guidance and to tell them how he did it. By 1925, when he retired from active practice to devote all his time without remuneration to the Committee on Maternal Health, he had accumulated clinical records of eight thousand cases, out of which he could call a thousand full histories of sex relationship in marriage averaging seven years in length, with some covering thirty years.

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE IN THE BIRTH-CONTROL MOVEMENT

With the twentieth century, several methods of preventing conception began to spread rapidly through the more prosperous sections of this country, and after the World War a movement to make contraceptive information available to less privileged groups got under way. It was not until 1923, however, that the first birth-control clinic in this country opened its doors, in the face of much opposition. Two others were

started that same year and three the next. The movement developed slowly at first; six years later there were only twenty-eight clinics. In the next two years fifty-seven new clinics were opened, so that by the end of 1931 eighty-five clinics, pretty well distributed through the country, were offering contraceptive advice and guidance to the general public free or for nominal fees. More than half were hospital clinics. Birth control had become recognized.

Today new emphases are emerging within the movement. Officers and staff members of several birth-control clinics are raising questions regarding the adequacy of the services they offer. Whether it is because some younger physicians in all communities are now willing to instruct patients in methods of controlling conception and hospitals are beginning to develop organized birth-control services, or because studies of records are revealing that most of their patients have come between the ages of 35 and 45 after physical and mental suffering that could have been prevented had contraceptive and sex hygiene information been available earlier, or because increasingly they are receiving requests for examination and instruction from newly married and engaged couples—whether for one or for all of these reasons, there is an increasing interest in the expansion of services to include sex hygiene instruction and marital relationship guidance.

A birth-control worker in a large Eastern city urged upon her colleagues recently:

Now that the giving of contraceptive advice is a procedure accepted by many social service agencies and by an increasing number of private physicians, may we not go a step further and help educate these women when they first think of getting married? May we not make information on

sex hygiene and marital relationships and contraception as easily available through literature and contact with coöperative physicians, nurses, and social workers to the young men and women of the less privileged group as we now do to practically all [sic] of the young men and women of the more privileged group?

The Birth Control Review, official organ of the Birth Control League, up to and including 1930 printed no material on marriage and family life guidance, but did present several articles on the sex education of children and adolescents. During 1931, however, five contributions were concerned in whole or in part with marriage and family life guidance, and many such contributions are planned for 1932. At least two birth-control clinics developed, during 1930 and 1931, techniques for what they call sex talks to husbands and wives, and one is giving premarital instruction to couples who come with marriage licenses.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON MATERNAL HEALTH

It was also in 1923 that a group of physicians and laymen, several of whom were associated also with the American Social Hygiene Association and the American Birth Control League joined hands to organize the Committee on Maternal Health. Its purposes were announced as research, and publication for and advisory service to the medical profession. From the very beginning, it interested itself in a comprehensive program of preventive gynecology which included the control of conception, premarital examinations, conjugal adjustment, sterilization without unsexing, therapeutic abortion, and the prevention and treatment of sterility—every major medical aspect of maternal health.

Increasingly recognized by individual members of the medical profes-

sion as a trustworthy pioneer, the Committee on Maternal Health became in 1930 the National Committee on Maternal Health, Inc.⁶ The medical profession as a whole, however, is not actively interested in its work, nor has it gone on record through any of its organized agencies as approving the practice of marriage and family life guidance.⁷

Requests for help in the organization of new birth-control clinics, which have been received by the National Committee on Maternal Health during 1931 from hospitals and other organized public health agencies, are evidence that the era of the independent birth-control clinic as a protest and demonstration is drawing to a close. Today older clinics are being incorporated into, and new clinics are being organized only within, hospital systems and other public health units. The need for and the value of conception control have been proved to leaders in medicine, religion, social work, and education. Hospitals are being persuaded to discard their century-long practice of performing abortions on women with such ailments as chronic kidney disease, and to adopt instead preventive measures—in other words, to prescribe contraception in order to lessen abortion.

Before they become units in the

organized public health services of their communities, many birth-control clinics, following the present trend, will doubtless have developed the practice of giving premarital examinations, and sex hygiene and marital relationship guidance. It is quite probable therefore that before many years some hospital organizations will include clinics offering marriage guidance services.

PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES

A little farther from the main currents of medicine and public health flow certain specialties within psychiatry, the practice of which involves giving marriage and family life guidance. A social psychiatrist (his own designation) in a large city reports that young people increasingly come to ask him how happy and satisfying marital relationships may be developed. Psychoanalysts find that in the course of each analysis they have to help the patient analyze his sex conflicts and repressions and work out more acceptable ways of handling sex impulses. Psychiatrists on the staffs of child guidance clinics, using newer child guidance techniques, are often called upon to help parents to work out more satisfactory relations with each other in order that their children may be relieved of some of the stimuli to the bad behavior for which they are under treatment.

When initiated by parents, some child guidance clinics also accept short-term cases, in which, instead of working directly with the child, the psychiatrist has a series of interviews with one or both parents. Family relationships, especially the conjugal relationship, come up for consideration in most such cases. Marriage and family life guidance, therefore, is intrinsic within the routine practice of these specialties.

⁶The National Committee on Maternal Health, New York Academy of Medicine Building, 2 East 103 Street, New York City, has published several pamphlets and reprints and also three volumes: *Seventy Birth Control Clinics* by Robinson, 1930; *A Thousand Marriages* by Dickinson and Beam, 1931; and *The Control of Conception* by Dickinson and Bryant, 1931—all handled by the Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore.

⁷The Cincinnati Academy of Medicine claims it is the only medical body in the world that has organized a maternal health service; but up through 1931 this service did not include marriage guidance apart from advice on the control of conception.

A DEMAND FOR CLINICS

Some members of the profession of medicine have come to believe in the need for organized bureaus or institutes for marriage and family life guidance. One doctor has secured the backing of many prominent citizens in his community for the opening of such a bureau in the Spring of 1932. Another writes:

I should like to see marriage councils in every city of the country, to provide consultations for patients according to their needs with the specialties of internal medicine, neurology, psychiatry, endocrinology, and urology, and, in related fields outside medicine, with psychology, sociology, and education. These councils should be staffed by men and women who are successfully married, normally sexed, high-minded, clean-minded, open-minded, and unhampered by inhibitions or by celibate dogmas.

In summary, the practice today of several specialties within medicine involves giving guidance for marriage and family life. Some family physicians also are now offering within their routine services at least the medical aspects of such guidance. Staffs of marriage clinics organized by members of other professions always include one or more physicians. Except for the development in this direction of the procedures of certain birth-control clinics, however, no marriage and family life guidance bureau or clinic has yet developed within the medical profession.

IV. THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Members of the legal profession, especially lawyers who handle family trusts, divorce lawyers, and courts whose jurisdictions cover domestic relationships, perpetually handle situations which offer opportunity for family life guidance. Seldom do they meet

couples in the early stages of trouble, however; whatever guidance they give is to families already under some strain and often at the breaking point.

Here and there lawyers can be found who inquire into requests for legal services and offer domestic relationship guidance where they think it is needed and will be acceptable. Legal aid societies often tender such services to their underprivileged clients. In one law club, recently, the question as to whether or not these services were within the province of lawyers provoked brisk discussion. Like most ministers who believe that they cannot inquire behind the marriage license, and like most physicians who refuse to discuss general sex matters with their patients on grounds of professional ethics, so most lawyers have apparently concluded that it is professionally unethical for them to offer clients marital and family life guidance.

It is only the nonconformist, with a social philosophy and a certain degree of disinterestedness, that finds it worth while to prepare himself for such services. By his experience with clients seeking divorce, and through his reading and study of sociology and mental hygiene, he has been led to believe them important. Taking the next step and actually offering such services has required courage, because people are not so accustomed to seeking personal help from lawyers as they are from social workers, ministers, or physicians.

SOCIALIZED COURT PROCEDURES

Due primarily to the efforts of the Federal Children's Bureau and several other national social work agencies, courts are developing social philosophies and socialized procedures more rapidly than the legal profession as a whole. The first domestic or family relations court was opened at Cin-

cinnati in 1910. Today, besides divorce courts, there exist in this country fifty courts which have jurisdiction solely over problems of domestic relationship or over juvenile and domestic problems.

These courts are an innovation in legal institutions. For securing evidence and developing judgments, they depend not upon the abstract learning of lawyers but upon case-history data secured by probation officers, social case workers, psychiatrists, or clinical psychologists. These last are sometimes called referees. There are no juries, and decisions are private. Instead of closing cases, judgments open them or serve as one step in their treatment.

In all courts which employ referees or probation officers, efforts are made first to adjust cases unofficially. A report of the activities of one court well known for its socialized procedures says that during a recent year 90 per cent of its cases involving children were adjusted out of court. Another reports that it has adjusted 70 per cent of all its cases unofficially. The proportion of cases so adjusted varies, but is increasing in all domestic relations and juvenile courts. The content of the word "adjustment" depends, of course, upon the court; the process which it implies varies all the way from giving rule-of-thumb advice in a half-hour interview, to a year of family case work on a par with that done in the best family agencies.

It is also a widespread practice for referees and probation officers to keep office hours during which any one who wishes may come voluntarily for family relationship advice and guidance. In order to facilitate this aspect of their work, some courts have established reconciliation departments or domestic relationship adjustment bureaus, so that, as one judge explains, "what we

have learned from our domestic discord cases can be used to keep other families out of trouble."⁸

A few divorce courts employ investigators to discover and report upon facts. None use social case workers. In the near future some divorce courts will doubtless begin to offer adjustment and guidance services.

To summarize, lawyers deal with many types of family relationship difficulties, but they are concerned primarily with legal requirements, and only secondarily with the adjustment and happiness of individuals. They make relatively little use, therefore, of family relationship guidance procedures. Where guidance is given by courts, judges are generally assisted by social case workers, clinical psychologists, and psychiatrists—members of other professions retained for this purpose.

V. THE PROFESSION OF EDUCATION

Teachers and specialists within education are often sought today for marriage and family life guidance. University professors of sociology and psychology, home economics teachers of family relationship courses, university personnel bureaus, secondary school and junior college counsellors, university deans or personnel officers, Y. W. and Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. and Y. M. H. A. evening school instructors of family life or preparation-for-marriage courses, instructors in Catholic advisory services and other teachers whose approaches are functional and sympathetic, find themselves called upon more or less frequently by students or ex-students for help upon marriage or family relationship problems.

⁸ For a summary of these developments within the courts, see Flexner, Oppenheimer, and Lenroot, *The Child, The Family, and The Court*, Children's Bureau, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931.

Most educators so sought talk informally with their occasional clients, offer common-sense advice, and return to their teaching. Of the few whose advice students continue to seek, some, appreciating the difficulty of giving wise guidance without a background of clinical experience and the time to make careful case studies, say that they avoid making specific suggestions. Others, more self-confident or, perhaps, more daring, usually also with special aptitudes for this type of service, spend many hours with each individual, helping him to study out solutions to his problems. Of this second group, some make themselves relatively expert and develop large clienteles, and at least two college teachers have let it become known that they were available professionally. Thus within education the operation of student demand has gradually selected individuals to carry on marriage and family life guidance.

ORGANIZED SERVICES WITHIN EDUCATION

Organized guidance services are to be found also within educational institutions. Professors of sociology or psychology, desiring first-hand clinical experience or cases to use in teaching, have announced their willingness to give consultations on marriage, sex hygiene, or family relationship problems. Others, needing clinical experience for their graduate students of education or psychology, have opened, with the approval and sometimes with the official backing of their universities, human relationship or personality problem clinics. Staffs usually consist of a professor and his assistant plus graduate students. Sometimes they include also as consultants other members of the faculty at the same institution. One such university clinic employs a trained social worker. Of the cases

taken for study, a considerable proportion usually involve problems of marriage and family relationships.

One Institute for Marriage and Family Guidance, organized and directed by a university professor of sociology, distributes a printed prospectus which states its aim as follows:

To establish contact with young persons during their problemless period, so far as serious family difficulties are concerned, and to build up within these persons the forces which will spare them many of the common major problems of domestic life and will equip them to deal intelligently with those difficulties that do arise.

Its services are of three sorts: classes for students and for church and community groups to discuss preparation for marriage, marriage relationship problems, and child guidance; consultations for those who have personal problems; and lectures and literature for the general public.

Still other marriage and family life guidance services have been organized by professors or by research workers in eugenics or sociology, not primarily because their advice has been sought, and not primarily to secure teaching material or clinical experience for themselves or their students, but because they believe they can be of direct and immediate use to mankind by applying their scientific knowledge in this way.

INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS IN LOS ANGELES

The best known and the largest of the services so motivated is the Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles, which opened its doors to the public in February 1930 after two years of preliminary work. Organized as a corporation with fifty incorporators, it aims to provide assistance to individuals, public education, and research. Its director is assisted by a staff which includes a social worker

and a physician, besides consultants representing the fields of social work, psychiatry, psychology, sociology, home economics, nutrition, budgeting, and religion. Its reports note close coöperation with city ministers and social-work agencies.

During the first eighteen months of the Institute's operation, 1,300 applications were received. The director's analysis of the first thousand shows that 35 per cent came as students or teachers for information (many of whom, it is added, also had underlying personal problems), 25 per cent had problems of family maladjustment, 7 per cent sought premarital advice, 9 per cent had problems of child care and welfare, 7 per cent brought sex difficulties, 5 per cent had problems of heredity, 1 per cent had legal problems, and the problems of the remaining 11 per cent could not be classified. Three fifths of all clients were women. Of the family maladjustment cases, two thirds were brought by wives, one sixth by husbands, and one sixth were referred by third parties, that is, by friends or social workers. The director writes:

As a result of our experience, we are increasingly encouraging young people to seek information before marriage. A premarital conference has been worked out based on the belief that romance flourishes better in an atmosphere of health and knowledge than in an atmosphere of ignorance and inefficiency.

This routine aims to prepare young people for marriage in three ways: first, by an investigation of their personal and family inheritance; second, by medical examination; and third, by education, which consists of a reading list followed sometimes by individual conferences on reading done.

By this means it is possible to eliminate those who because of mental and emotional defects are not qualified to marry success-

fully, or because of physical defects are not qualified to marry successfully or in marriage to be successful parents; to encourage the removal of defects both physical and mental and so to diminish the probability of future troubles; and to provide the essentials of an education for the intelligent selection and attraction of mates and for successful coöperation within marriage.

One other type of educator is increasingly called upon for advice on marriage and family relationship problems: leaders of child-study classes which enroll parents, and nursery school and kindergarten teachers who interview the parents of their children primarily in the interests of closer coöperation of home and school. Workers in these fields find that group discussions or interviews on problems of parent-child relationship sometimes precipitate consultations on problems involving marital relationship.

METHODS OF EDUCATORS

Interview procedures in the marriage and family life guidance work of educators follow educational patterns. Problems presented are discussed with clients, generally from various points of view; pertinent information is given; and books are suggested for reading and study.

Psychologically trained workers rely for their diagnoses upon evidence obtained by giving a battery of tests—intelligence tests, aptitude tests, emotional adjustment tests, and personality tests—and their guidance consists chiefly of interpreting test findings and making suggestions for future behavior. An institute director describes the handling of a typical case as follows:

Whenever a case is brought by a woman, the husband or fiancé is always seen. . . . Clients are asked to tell their own stories. . . . Our first task is the provision of the mismated couple with sex education,

which often has to be elementary even for people married some years. Proper attitudes must accompany knowledge, in most cases they grow out of adequate knowledge, except when bias is carried over from early life. . . . In these cases reëducation may be necessary through suggestion, persuasion, or psychoanalysis [*sic*]. One hour or thereabouts is spent on the average with each case and then if considered necessary the individual is sent for an interview with one of the consultants. While providing sexual adjustment, we attempt to analyze other difficulties, and to suggest ways in which they can be met.

To these methods there are occasional exceptions. For instance, one professor of sociology, with some training in a school for social work, uses procedures closely approximating those of social case workers in family agencies, with this difference, that case analyses and treatment plans develop in his mind alone, instead of being worked out in conferences with supervisors or case study groups.

In summary, those educators who offer marriage and family life guidance do so with a wealth of general knowledge about family life seldom found in the other professions, but with relatively little training for or experience in giving personal assistance through the interview. For the most part they carry over into their guidance work the points of view and the assumptions of teachers of subject matter: that telling people what they need to know helps them to feel differently about and behave differently in their marriage and family relationships; and that what they need to know can be more or less accurately ascertained by comparing results of psychological tests with findings in a study of a thousand or more typical cases.

These assumptions stand in sharp contrast to the generally accepted professional standards of social case work and of medicine: that the guid-

ance of human relationships is an art which can be practiced safely and effectively only by those who have served apprenticeships in clinical work under supervision; that the most important factor in the process of guidance is the use made by the clinician of the professional relationship that develops between himself and his client; and that the kind of information given and the form in which it is couched is less important than the meaning it holds for the client and the use he makes of it.

VI. PLANS FOR CONSULTATION BUREAUS

Partly in response to the growing demand from the professions for marriage and family life guidance clinics, partly as a result of their analyses of social trends and needs, and partly as an expression of their own policies, two agencies during the past three years have been working upon plans for comprehensive marriage and family life guidance consultation centers or bureaus.

PLANS OF THE ROSENWALD FUND

In November 1929 the Rosenwald Fund of Chicago invited twenty representative professionals to consider with them whether or not a marriage and family life consultation bureau was needed, and if so, what form it should take. At the close of two days' discussion there was general agreement upon the following propositions:

(1) That it is possible and desirable to assist people in achieving a better marital adjustment through a consultation center;

(2) That if such a center is organized it should function in four ways; that is, it should give service to clients, conduct research, prepare and distribute literature, and train personnel;

(3) That its services should be

offered primarily to clients who can pay fees, and who will be served at as early a stage as possible in their marital problems;

(4) That clients should be obtained without general publicity, and as far as possible by reference from physicians, clergymen, nursery schools, parent-education groups, college alumni officers, teachers, welfare workers, and the courts;

(5) That premarital education services should be regarded as properly within the scope of the center;

(6) That emphasis at the outset should be on quality of work rather than on serving a large number of patients;

(7) That the following kinds of services should be provided either through the personnel of the center or through available agencies: sex instruction, including birth control; child care; management of the home and income; health and medical services; legal advice; community relations, including leisure time, social life, and so forth; and vocational guidance, especially for women;

(8) That the personnel of the center, as a minimum, should be composed of psychiatrists (one man and one woman—the latter to be especially well equipped for gynecological examination) and social workers.

WORK OF AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION

When in 1914 the American Social Hygiene Association united into one organization groups working for the prevention and control of venereal disease, the break-up of commercialized vice and prostitution, and the sex education of children, its objectives included "the preservation and improvement of the family." For years it carried on a program of lectures and conferences through agencies dealing

with young people. In 1928, under the leadership of the late Dr. Anna Garlin Spencer, it organized a Division on Family Relations because

requests for services of lecturers included increasingly marriage and family relationship topics, because questions from individuals increasingly concerned these topics, and because of a belief that the public would understand and respond better to this general approach.

Until her death in 1931, Dr. Spencer gave most of her time to the study, the comparison, and the evaluation of existing marriage and family life guidance services, and came to this conclusion:

There is nothing apparently more needed than a demonstration which would really accumulate facts, evaluate them intelligently, unite in a common service the various overlapping social agencies now dealing with the family, and serve as a pattern for the many people in different parts of the country now moving toward consultation work. It is, however, a very large order, requiring the ablest person in charge that can be secured and an organization that has no ax to grind, no desire to be prominent above any other organization, but one capable of winning the active and continued support of all the agencies, educational and social, medical, legal, and mental hygiene, now at work upon the problems of personality and family adjustment.

OUTLINES FOR A GUIDANCE SERVICE

Dr. Spencer's outlines of essential elements for a marriage and family life guidance service may be summarized as follows:

(1) A consultation demonstration should be set up only within a responsible agency and should have an advisory council representing many organizations serving the family.

(2) The director should be a woman, "well known both in educational and social-service fields, and already ex-

perienced in the application of sound knowledge and judgment to personal and social problems."

(3) She and the men and women workers who meet applicants should have capable secretaries, and a staff of specialists available for consultation upon request, "to include a medical doctor, a child and parental guidance psychologist, a psychiatric expert, a visiting teacher for cases where parents are troubled by child problems not serious enough for child guidance clinics, a family budget expert, a physician or birth-control clinic worker, a hospital maternity clinic worker, a legal adviser, a social case worker with experience in handling relief cases, a sex-education expert, a vocational adviser, and at least one socially-minded minister of religion from the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jewish faiths."

(4) Both day and evening hours should be kept.

(5) A central location should be secured, one not attached obviously either to the relief of poverty, or to the treatment of disease or to psychiatric treatment, which is still supposed to be only for "queer people." An atmosphere strictly normal and attractive should be created and maintained, to win normal people in need of advice.

(6) In order that facts may be accumulated for the guidance of more difficult cases, a case record system should be devised and kept—one that is both comprehensive and confidential.

(7) There should be no fees for the services of workers at the center; fees should be made moderate and uniform for special consultations with specialists.

The plans of both the Rosenwald Fund and the American Social Hygiene Association represent a composite of the best experience and thinking of several professions. The group which constructed the former was dominated

by professionals in psychiatry and social case work; the latter has been shaped under awareness of the opportunity to guide a fast developing movement. Although at one time the Rosenwald Fund was reported to be putting its plan into effect, neither plan has yet become operative. The American Social Hygiene Association, however, has recently begun to move toward coöperation with certain community agencies for the practical testing of several aspects of its plans.

VII. GENERAL SUMMARY

Guidance for marriage and family life is being given in this country today by many sorts of individuals and groups, by relatively isolated professionals whose knowledge and training is solely that of their professions, by professionals who regularly supplement their knowledge and experience with the relevant findings of other professions, by professionals who supplement their services by sending clients for advice to members of other professions also, and by groups of workers with various backgrounds functioning together as clinics or bureaus but expressing the point of view or standards of the professional in charge.

It is the exceptional individual that is drawn into the practice of marriage and family life guidance. Most members of the professions that deal with the health and the adjustment of human beings either avoid having anything to do with problems involving marriage and family relationships, or else they try to be helpful but are still so blocked by sex that their thinking is neither inductive nor consecutive. Leaving out of consideration the few who may have entered this field chiefly because they are fascinated by sex and more than content to be linked with it professionally, it is generally conceded by professionals that those of their

fellows who have become interested in marriage and family life guidance stand among the most promising younger members in their professions.

PHILOSOPHIES OF GUIDANCE WORKERS

The aims of those sponsoring and carrying on this work are in general realistic: to be of use to couples as they work out their adjustments to the requirements of marriage and family life. Variation from this point of view is found on the one hand in a small group of extreme individualists, of whom certain physicians and judges are examples, and on the other hand in a larger group of those concerned with saving the institution of the family or improving the racial stock, of whom certain ministers and eugenisists are examples.

Extreme individualists and extreme institutionalists alike are characterized by determination to propagate their ideals among their clients, and by their inability to take into account the individual's situation, his intellectual equipment, and his emotional reaction patterns. Most marriage guidance workers, however, seem to be relatively indifferent both to current individualistic philosophies and to traditional theologies, rituals, and professional ethics. To them the adjustment and happiness of individuals is more important than proprieties or than conventional family patterns. It is these realists whose philosophies seem to be setting the standards of practice in this new field.

PROFESSIONAL DIFFERENCES IN PRACTICE

All marriage guidance work involves making information available to clients. What is given varies with professional background and individual training. In addition to interpreting the findings of their physical examina-

tions, physicians generally give patients medical material. Social workers, ministers, and educators make it a practice to see that clients have physical examinations and that findings are understood and constructively used. Educators use the subject matter of their specialties and of the related fields with which they are most familiar, including generally psychology, sociology, and mental hygiene. Ministers use the material that is recommended and prepared by their national councils and commissions, which in turn is derived from the accumulated knowledge of the fields of religious education, social work, and mental hygiene. In spite of this abundance of material, workers in all the professions have urged the preparation of guides to the practice of marriage guidance, and balanced literature for pre-interview reading by young people.

RELATIONS BETWEEN WORKERS AND CLIENTS

Relationships between marriage guidance workers and their clients vary widely. In each profession there are some individuals who assume full responsibility for setting clients upon the right road and keeping them there. Usually workers with this point of view have already decided what is right in family life, sometimes in detail. In interviews they persuade, chide, blame, or correct, and play for opportunities to drive home their points.

There are also in each profession workers who help clients to view their questions or problems in perspective and to develop confidence in their own ability to work out satisfactory solutions or understand and use the information they are seeking. To such workers, each individual is different from every other, and each problem unique. Virtue resides not in knowledge but in the use made of knowledge.

Consequently, they make information available as their clients show themselves able to use it; they raise questions for consideration, point out probable consequences of proposed courses of action, and in general stand ready to be used according to the client's need at the moment and in such a way as to foster the client's independence.

The approach of most marriage and family life guidance workers lies somewhere between these two extremes.

There is beginning to develop among workers in this field an awareness of the importance for effective functioning of the relationship between worker and client. In several organized centers and institutions this awareness is expressed in a trend towards concentrating all contacts with each client in one worker. Less and less are clients referred directly to specialists except when the worker considers it necessary, for instance, for physical examinations or for special physical or psychological tests, and then the worker with whom the client has a primary relationship presents and interprets findings.

POSSIBLE FUTURE TRENDS

Whether or not marriage and family life guidance will become a highly organized and specialized movement, like birth control or parent education, before its practice is reabsorbed into the professions from which it is now emerging, depends in large part upon the kind of direction given by its leaders in the immediate future. If separate clinics are organized widely, this development will probably be delayed. A few centrally located

clinics or bureaus might stimulate it, provided they were organized: (1) to carry on experiments in guidance and interview methods in order to work out pure marriage and family life guidance techniques; (2) to train individual professionals to become marriage and family life specialists within their professions; and (3) to collect data on marriage and family adjustments. These services would be of use to others in proportion as specialized clinic workers kept in close touch with new developments in each profession, and provided also that findings were made available and interpreted to each profession through representative and specially interested members.

There might also be considerable value temporarily in a national committee or office: (1) to help make more widely available the findings and methods of marriage and family life guidance bureaus; (2) to help professional training schools develop curricula for this specialty; (3) to stimulate and make possible exchange of experience among professional workers; (4) to make available to individuals and groups interested in starting such services the best experience of the field; (5) to coördinate and supervise experiments and research; and (6) to serve as a center for information and publication. Such services as these would be useful in proportion as they were rendered through and with the coöperation of intraprofessional agencies. For in the long run and to most people, guidance for marriage and family life is going to be given chiefly through local professionals in social work, religion, medicine, law, and education, in whom the general public has confidence.

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The Reorganization of Household Work

By AMEY E. WATSON

DOROTHY CANFIELD, in discussing the modern family, has suggested that pioneers of today, instead of pushing on into the physical wilderness and opening up new territories, must advance into new and unexplored paths in human relationships, seeking to solve old problems in new ways. The world has in recent years been undergoing great economic and social changes. "Adjustment" implies just this ability to see old problems in new terms and to work out new and better solutions of difficulties by a creative and experimental attitude.

For many years the comic papers and the vaudeville stage have found a source of amusement in portraying the trials and tribulations due to the "servant problem." The sufferings of the masculine portion of the human race are especially emphasized as it is

pointed out that the majority of the gentler sex have been unable to cope successfully with their own major problem—that of running their homes smoothly, without undue friction or expense, and with a sense of achievement, perspective, and joy. That this problem should find its way so frequently into the humor of the day would seem to imply that it is a fairly knotty problem with deep-seated causes. Yet some sociologists and more economists smile with amusement if domestic service is mentioned as a socio-economic problem. They claim that it is only the upper five per cent of our population that can afford to employ paid workers in the home, and it is their opinion that persons with \$5,000 a year or over should be able to manage their own affairs without assistance from experts in employment problems or in family relationships.

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AND GIRLS EMPLOYED AS SERVANTS, ETC., 1870-1920¹

Census Year	Population of United States	Females 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Non-Agricultural Pursuits		
		Total Number	Employed as Servants and in Kindred Occupations *	
			Number	Percentage of Total
1920.....	105,710,620	7,465,383	1,358,665	18.2
1910.....	91,972,266	6,268,271	1,595,572	25.5
1900.....	75,994,575	4,341,599	1,430,692	33.0
1890.....	62,947,714	3,235,424	1,302,728	40.3
1880.....	50,155,783	2,052,582	970,273	47.3
1870.....	38,558,371	1,439,285	873,738	60.7

* Includes servants, waitresses, charwomen, cleaners, porters, housekeepers, and stewardesses, based on 1900 classification.

¹ Hill, Joseph A., *Women in Gainful Occupations, 1870-1920. A Study of the Trend of Recent Changes in the Numbers, Occupational Distribution, and Family Relationships of Women reported in the Census as following a Gainful Occupation, Census Monographs, IX, p. 36.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929.

DOMESTIC SERVICE AS AN INDUSTRY

Do not such economists fail to recognize that those who do the work of the home constitute no inconsiderable part of our great national industrial army? Like workers in other occupations, these employees need training for their jobs. They should be carefully selected on the basis of their skills, experience in relation to the type of job, and personality; and they need right working and living conditions if they are to make their best contribution to our economic and social life. The facts in regard to the servant problem as shown by the recent census reports show that women have been moving away from household employment to other occupations. In 1870 over half of the gainfully employed women in the United States were in "domestic and personal service"; but less than a fourth were found there in 1920. The figures are given in the preceding table.

Unfortunately, until 1930 the census never distinguished between servants in private homes and those in hotels, restaurants, and similar places. Full figures for 1930 are not yet available. The census in its returns by industry groups² states that in 1930 there were 1,662,707 males and 3,149,391 females engaged in domestic and personal service, which comprised 4.4 per cent of the male and 29.2 per cent of the female persons gainfully employed.³

² Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, Release for use of morning papers, Sept. 9, 1931.

³ The following definition of a household employee was phrased by a group of women (the Philadelphia Council on Household Occupations) when formulating the conclusions of their study of household employment. "Any man, woman or child employed by the homemaker, her husband or their household manager to carry on work for compensation either inside the house or on the outside (including the care of grounds and garden and the driving of a car for pleasure) is

This makes a total of 4,812,098 persons so engaged. The total population for 1930 was 122,698,190. The tabulation of the 1930 census returns by occupation is still in progress. As data for only 16 states have been published and the tabulation is not yet complete for a number of the more populous states, any estimate would at best be hazardous. Such an estimate was attempted in an article in the magazine *Fortune*,⁴ in which an effort was made to select only those who carry on labor in private homes for pay. The approximate figure of 1,900,000 servants in America was reached. This estimate does not include private chauffeurs and laundresses. A more accurate estimate can be computed after the figures are published.

STABILIZATION OF HOUSEHOLD
EMPLOYMENT

Household employment is an industry which needs to be stabilized. Some of the unfortunate conditions which need to be remedied are exploitation of the home and household employers by the workers and by commercial employment agencies, exploitation of the workers by those who hire them, high labor turnover, and antagonism and misunderstanding. These conditions all add more strain to family life, which needs to be strengthened and enriched by those who come in to help. If the factors making for maladjustment and disorganization can be understood and modern methods utilized in placing this industry on a sound social and economic basis, no small contribution will be made to the stabilization and the integration of family life.

called a household employee. Such workers are engaged, supervised and discharged by the homemaker, her husband or their manager."

⁴ "Servants," *Fortune Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 6, p. 121, Dec. 1931.

Many studies have been made at various times in the effort to improve the conditions of this industry, and all point to the same conclusion; namely, that the main hope for remedying the present discomfort in this occupation lies in systematizing the work and regulating the hours in such a manner as to give the workers an opportunity to live an independent, self-governed life apart from their work.⁵ It has also been said that domestic service must become a self-respecting occupation rather than a state of servitude. The change is from a position of status to one of contract.

The progress of civilization can be traced through the centuries in the expressions used to denote labor relationships. We had first, owner and slave; second, master and man or mistress and maid; third, employer and employee. The slave had no independent life of his own, no free time, and no social standing. Generally he was used as any other piece of property, as a means to the owner's ends—not as a human being whose life was sacred and had value in and of itself. The master-man or mistress-maid relationship was an advance in that either party was at liberty to terminate the relationship if unsatisfactory. The master or mistress still felt, however, that he or she owned the entire time of the man or maid.

In the third relationship, that of employer-employee, the worker sells his labor, usually for definite periods of time. The employer has no control over the worker except when he is on the job. The worker has increased opportunity to live an independent life, and therefore his social standing is raised. The worker now becomes an

end in himself—a growing personality with responsibilities and needs which he himself must meet. This relationship, which is based on a clear business understanding as to hours, duties, and privileges, is accepted today in practically every industrial occupation. Do the principles of this third labor relationship apply in domestic service, and if so, can they be more generally accepted?

Many persons will reply that this effort to put the home on a sound business basis is deadening to the best type of family life, as the home is essentially the center of the spiritual life of the family, which must never be standardized or made mechanical. This point of view contains much that is true, but clear thinking makes it possible to understand that a home must be on a sound business basis and yet must also be the center of the cultural and personal life of the family. Dr. Andrews says:

The business of conducting the household is a double undertaking; it involves house-keeping, or the work of providing the material supplies of foods, clothing and shelter for the family group; and also home-making, that direction (unconscious though it may be) which the home woman, aided more or less by the man, gives to the personal living in the home. The proper business of the home is work and life alike. The home shelters a double process, living and working, and hence, household economics must take account of both work and life in the home, both ultimately in respect to their meaning for the persons of the family.⁶

The same idea is expressed a little differently by Miss Friend:

We might think of housekeeping and homemaking as a business organized, not for money profit, but for less tangible

⁵ Roelofs, Henrietta, *The Road to Trained Service in the Household*, Bulletin 2, Household Employment Commission, National Board of Y.W.C.A., New York. 13 pp. 1915.

⁶ Andrews, Benjamin R., *Economics of the Household, its Administration and Finance*, p. 3, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927.

things, such as health, happiness, mental progress and social value. This business involves the expenditure of the income in such a way that a desirable balance is maintained among the various ideals sought.⁷

Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse's analysis of the job of a homemaker also distinguishes between the tangible and intangible values in homemaking.⁸

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE FAMILY

The roots of the problems in regard to domestic service lie buried in (1) the economic life of the family and (2) the social life of the family. This article must limit itself to the effort to arrive at a clearer understanding of the economic function of the home, in order that this may be organized on a more sound basis.

The industrial revolution has caused great changes in the economic functions of the home. *Production for exchange* has been removed into factories. The making of clothing, the baking of bread, the canning of vegetables and other foods, and many other types of economic activity have vanished from family life. In addition, electricity has lightened the drudgery of the homemaker to a large degree, and has changed the type of work to be done in the home.

Accompanying these new conditions inside the home, developments in the education of women have resulted in the fact that women are being prepared very largely for performing their economic functions outside the home. While the average girl today as always is looking forward to marriage and family life as her ideal goal, yet she is

not fitting herself seriously for this as a life work, but is turning to office, factory, school teaching, social work, and other professions as a means of earning her living until, as the traditional saying has it, her husband is able "to support her." Is it normal or wholesome for any girl or woman to look forward to a life of indulgence or parasitism? Is it not rather a social ideal that every woman shall look forward to her own self-support after marriage, either within or without the home; that she shall wish to have her own chosen work by means of which she will also contribute her share to the support of her dependent children, and that she shall further make a contribution to the economic life of the community? Women are increasingly being trained to be economically independent. Women so trained wish to enjoy the privileges of parenthood and combine with it a normal work life either inside or outside the home, depending on their abilities and skills. Neither parents nor educators are in the main preparing girls today for the performance of their economic functions within the home.

The family is therefore finding itself in a difficult situation. Trained observers who are making careful studies of home situations find that in spite of the assertion that all work has gone out of the home, there are many jobs to be done constantly in every home, and that there are likely to continue to be many jobs in the homes of the coming generations. Homes do not run themselves. The home of the present and the future needs labor; even more does it need skill and personality in its workers. Where is the labor supply for the home to be recruited? How is it to be organized? How is it to be taught the necessary skills?

Perhaps it is important to point out

⁷ Friend, Mata Roman, *Earning and Spending the Family Income, a Textbook in Home Economics*, p. 67, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930.

⁸ Woodhouse, Chase Going, "The New Profession of Homemaking," *The Survey*, Vol. 57, p. 317, Dec. 1, 1926.

at this time that the bulk of the work of the home in America today is done by members of the family group, especially by the mother, on an unpaid basis. Fathers make a large contribution when they can spare time from their jobs and professions. Children also frequently do their share in the hours when they are free from school and fun. Dr. Hazel Kyrk has estimated that in 1920 there were 22,169,387 women 15 years of age and over, engaged in homemaking.⁹ She further estimated that the number of persons engaged in homemaking per private family varied as follows:

1920	1910	1900	1890
.923	.946	1.018	1.078

The number of women keeping house without pay in 1920 was estimated by Wesley C. Mitchell as 22,500,000.¹⁰ Using Dr. Mitchell's estimate, there are apparently about 35 per cent of all adults over 20 years of age that are devoting full time to homemaking; this proportion would be increased to 37 or 38 per cent if homemakers who are gainfully employed outside the home were also included. It is worth noting that practically all persons, old and young, that are living in family groups make some contribution to the work processes of the home. It is partly because this work is so largely done for love and not for money that its social importance and economic value are both so grossly underestimated. It is also true that certain aspects of this work are uninteresting,¹¹ and therefore

the general attitude towards housework is destructive. Every one seeks to evade the so-called "dirty work" of the world.

REORGANIZATION IN THE WORK LIFE OF THE HOME

A fundamental reorganization in the work life of the home is necessary. Such a reorganization will be a means of solving the problems of domestic service gradually, and will also bring better attitudes into all our homes, and assist in building personalities more able to meet their everyday responsibilities. The following steps are suggested:

(1) There should be general acceptance by economists and the lay public that the home is a unit of production as well as a unit of consumption. In his pamphlet, "The Economic Function of Woman," Dr. Devine discusses this point:

In the home itself woman may be said to be a producer of wealth. The work of cook and chambermaid is production. The direction of the home establishment is production. A steak is worth more broiled and placed on the table than it is in the butcher's tray. We recognize that if it is a question of paying for it in an eating house, so should we also recognize it in our own dining-rooms. . . . To woman has fallen the task of directing how the wealth brought into the house shall be used. In the current theories the importance of this latter function has been absurdly underestimated. With a clearer recognition of its true relation to the whole subject of wealth, there must result an increased respect on the part of economists for the industrial functions which woman performs. . . . If commodities can be so arranged and grouped for consumption as to make them yield more pleasure than if they are consumed in a haphazard way, then the one who secures that result performs just as distinctly an economic function as does the one whom we call technically a producer.

⁹ Kyrk, Hazel, and Reid, Margaret, "An Estimate of the Number of Women Engaged in Homemaking," *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 21, No. 6, pp. 424-426.

¹⁰ *Business Cycles*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Publication No. 10, pp. 83-85, 927.

¹¹ Myerson, Abraham, *The Nervous Housewife*, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1926.

This function I have called "the direction of wealth consumption."¹²

Miss Friend says:

Formerly production meant the changing of raw materials into finished products. Today we have a somewhat different, broader conception of the meaning of production. Any activity that develops a utility or satisfaction is a productive activity. . . . In this new sense there are still many phases of productivity retained in the modern household. . . . While the giving of form value has been taken largely from the household, the giving of place, time, adaptation and combination utilities has been retained.¹³

(2) There should be acceptance of the fact that homemaking has elements of a vocation for most women. Practically no women receive adequate vocational education for this life career. Vocational education in homemaking demands more intensive, thorough training in actual home situations, under adequate supervision, than has yet been worked out.

(3) There should be acceptance of the fact that homemaking, while having elements of a social and spiritual partnership of the deepest significance, also includes a *business partnership* for the husband and wife together. Homemaking is essentially the guidance and organization of personal relationships with a view to keeping free or releasing the creative forces of growth in all members of the family group. While the intangible or spiritual values are most important, the underlying economic relationships must also be sound. These concepts have been summarized by Dr. Andrews as follows:

The American household, as its social ideal takes form, is an institution in which two adults form a partnership with equal

responsibilities, make equal contributions to its support, and draw out equal returns not only in the daily physical services of food, clothing and shelter but as well in the broadening of experience and all the satisfactions of life. As junior members enter the group, they are advanced as rapidly as possible to a full partnership relation. At its best the group provides for its members, adult and child alike, broad opportunity for the development of individual personality. As members of a small social group that cares, the family supports each member as long as that is necessary and puts demands upon him when he can bear them; criticizes or encourages in turn as either is needed, and shapes the individual to take a place as a man or woman in the world. For the adult and increasingly for the child, the home is the place where individuals immersed in broader social relations find still a rock on which to stand. The social values in American family life give it a message for the world as the democratic movement changes the relations of men, women and children in all lands, and education for and about the home will therefore have an increasingly important place everywhere. These social results of sound family life can be had only if the economic basis of the household is sound.¹⁴

(4) *The administration of the home* is a function of this husband-and-wife partnership. The husband and wife are like a board of directors in the formulation of the policies of their partnership. Perhaps the most important element making for success in this function will be their attitudes toward each other as administrators of the home. It is rare to find two persons each of whom has the courage and the ability to do his own independent thinking and who will listen objectively to the judgment of the other when it differs from his own, without in any sense looking down upon the other. The ability to think together creatively is even more rare.

¹² Devine, Edward T., "The Economic Function of Woman," *Teachers College Bulletin*, Second Series, No. 3, pp. 9-10, Oct. 8, 1910.

¹³ Friend, Mata Roman, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

¹⁴ Andrews, B. R., *op. cit.*, p. v.

In every home there will be many decisions which should be faced jointly and decided together. On the other hand, there will be many problems which each member of the partnership should decide for himself and over which the partnership should exercise no control. The following illustrate the type of problems which the husband and wife will decide together in formulating their family policies: the responsibility for bringing in the family income; the standard and plane of living; the choice of the place and type of residence; the planning of the budget and division of the income; the division of responsibility and its delegation to others; the number of children and the spacing between births; the amount and kind of hospitality; the amount and kind of education; the amount and type of recreation and vacations, including summer camps, travel, and similar problems; and determination of hours for family routine.

(5) *The function of management in the home* is the heaviest and most important responsibility. Upon the efficiency of this function the family depends for the smooth running of the home and the happiness and well-being of the group, including both unpaid and paid workers. The management function may be delegated to the wife alone, it may be divided among the various members of the family, or it may be completely delegated to a paid worker. Whether she is a member of the family or a paid worker, the person to whom this function is delegated should never be chosen on the basis of tradition alone, but because she is qualified for the job, chooses to do the work, and is willing to train herself while on the job. How many homemakers take this aspect of their job seriously and study the principles of sound management in the home, there-

by improving their skills and increasing their understanding of their vocation?

The following illustrate the type of problems for which the household manager will be held responsible: the employment of, contracts with, and direction of, paid workers; record of expenditures and details of budget; checking of expenditures; payment of bills; plans for entertainment; inventories, daily, weekly, and seasonal; checking on needed alterations, repairs, and renewal of supplies and furnishings; oversight of packing and unpacking; oversight of house repairs, renewal of furnishings and renewal of supplies such as fuel; oversight of thrifty and intelligent use of supplies, materials, equipment, time, and strength; oversight of menus for meals for health, economy, and contentment; training the paid workers in the household; and educating the unpaid workers in coöperation and in the actual skills connected with household work and management.

(6) *The work of the home* includes certain processes which can be analyzed and assigned to different workers very much as in a factory or an office. The time necessary to do each job must be understood and the number of hours of work expected of each worker must not be exceeded by a careful manager. The needed skills and personalities must also be studied. If the work of the home is carefully organized and the personalities understood, respected, and harmonized, a feeling of satisfaction and craftsmanship should result on the part of both workers and management.

It may be surprising to learn that many processes are the same in all homes, with superficial differences depending on income level, educational level, and other factors. In an effort to make a job analysis which would cover all homes, the summary on

MINIMUM ESSENTIALS IN OPERATING A HOUSEHOLD

INVARIABLES

VARIABLES

I. PLANNING STANDARD OF LIVING AND OTHER POLICIES

Balance between income and outgo of money, time, and energy	Complex standard of living as money income and other factors increase
--	--

II. PHYSICAL CARE OF MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

Food

Planning of meals	Increase in amount
Purchasing of food	Elaborateness of cooking and menu
Preparing	Type and extent of service
Serving	Standard of entertainment
Clearing away	
Paying for	
Entering in accounts	

Clothing

Planning budget	Amount of clothing
Purchasing	Frequency of changing
Laundry, inside or outside of home	Quality of materials and consequent care needed
Pressing and cleaning	Varying standards in regard to rough dry or fine laundry work
Sorting, mending, and putting away	Varying standards of style, neatness, and beauty
Making clothing, costumes, etc.	
Paying for	
Entering in accounts	

Shelter

Cleaning house	Frequency and thoroughness of cleaning
Daily bedroom care	Type and amount of service
Daily bathroom care	Frequency of changing house linens
Laundry of house linens	Quality of materials and consequent care needed
House furnishings and equipment—planning, purchase, and care of	Type of house furnishings, extent and delicacy, with consequent care needed
Care of outside of house, grounds, garage	Extent of grounds and standards of care

Other Physical Factors

(1) Care of Children

- | | |
|--|---|
| (a) Development of good physical habits | (a) Varying standards in regard to habits |
| regularity of meals | |
| feeding self | |
| bowel habits | |
| sleeping habits | |
| washing and bathing | |
| dressing | |
| other | |
| (b) Fresh air and exercise under supervision | (b) Amount and complexity |
| (c) Supervised play inside including music, art,
literature, etc. | (c) Type of supervision |
| (d) Nursing in illness | (d) Use of clinic or private physician |
| (e) Teamwork with physicians in planning child's
régime | |

(2) Care of Adults

Nursing in illness	Extent and type
--------------------	-----------------

III. PSYCHOLOGICAL, EMOTIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CARE OF MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) Constant oversight of infants and small chil-
dren with understanding of their needs
from the point of view of balanced growth
of personality | (1) Extent and type of care |
| (2) Supervision of child's school work and co-
operation with schools | |

IV. SOCIAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN CARING FOR FAMILY

Adjustments of relationships within family group
Working out relationships of family to community

page 172 of minimum essentials in operating a household is tentatively offered. In addition to the invariables which every home must meet if it is to develop wholesomely, a list of variables is submitted. If the individual personalities within the family group are developing in a wholesome way, the standard and plane of living can be adjusted so that there is a balance between income and outgo of money, time, and energy. The family that is living beyond its income on any of these three elements is the family whose members are nervous, irritable, and maladjusted. Where the persons in the group are well adjusted, flexible, and creative, they can ordinarily bring in sufficient money income to meet their own fundamental needs, and still have time and energy left for balanced living.

It is recognized that this analysis of the essential processes in maintaining a home is tentative and incomplete. Much further research needs to be carried on in order that methods of organizing the work life of different homes on a sound basis may be more clearly understood and adjusted.¹⁵

TYPE OF WORKERS NEEDED

In the above summary, the skill needed to take adequate physical care of members of the family group would seem to be different from that needed for the psychological, emotional, and social care. In actual life situations, such separation of skills rarely occurs.

¹⁵ For a more detailed analysis of the work of the home see Watson, Amey E., "Household Employment in Philadelphia," *U. S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Bulletin 93*, Washington: 1932 (in press). A schedule for a case study of household management and household employment is included in this report. See also *Digest of Findings of the Philadelphia Study of Household Employment*, Philadelphia Council on Household Occupations, 311 S. Juniper St., Philadelphia. 8 pp.

There is no job within the home that does not call for a high type of worker. Even the skill to be a good cook takes more training and experience than is usually admitted; but in most homes, the budget permits the use of only one person to do the cooking and many of these other tasks within the family. Not only do we need persons who are both trained and experienced to work in our homes, but even more we need persons who are adaptable and good-natured, able to adjust readily to many different types of demands. Above all, the average home needs workers who are sympathetic with child nature. Servants have much more influence upon children than is usually recognized. Robert Louis Stevenson is only one of many persons who acknowledge their debt to their childhood nurses. Those who have been harmed by contact with the wrong type of household employee are a larger number than we care to admit. The home wherein the workers are stable, growing personalities, happy and well-adjusted, is indeed fortunate.

Whenever the income is clearly sufficient and the members of the family group desire it, carefully selected household employees should be brought in to assist in the work of the home. In selecting such workers, a careful study of their skills and personalities should be made, as well as a job analysis of the particular home, and personality studies of the homemaker and her husband.

FAMILY MEMBERS SHOULD SHARE RESPONSIBILITY

The bringing in of one or several workers should never mean that the members of the family should be relieved of their responsibilities. Careful planning and allocation of jobs is necessary in order that the unpaid workers in the home and the paid

workers may function harmoniously together as a team, fitting into one another's personalities with mutual respect, consideration, and humor, rather than with annoyance and ill will.

It is particularly important that as the children in the family mature they should learn to carry their responsibility within the home. This is much easier to work out when the father and mother have already learned to work as team mates in the house. The nursery school is laying great emphasis on teaching children motor coördination through passing and serving food. There are many tasks remaining within the home, which, if selected to fit the particular child's level of development, have great educational and some small economic value. For a busy mother or worker, it is far easier to do a job herself than to stop to teach a child to do it; but if she has the long-range point of view and is thinking of the character development of the child, the work should be planned so that either mother or paid worker can have enough leisure to stop and teach the child as the work is being done. Such integration of the work life with the social and educational life of the home is fundamentally important. Any home which does things for the child which he had better learn to do for himself is thereby blocking his growth and development.

Any sound effort to bring about better adjustments in household employment relations must be closely related to the movement for child study and parental education, as fathers, mothers, and paid workers in the home must all understand the importance of having children learn to care for their own possessions and do their share of the unpleasant work of the home, even if the income is such that plenty of employees can be engaged.

CHOICES OPEN TO HOMEMAKERS

The work of the home is today being done by the following types of workers:

- (1) Unpaid workers (members of the family group).
Administrative functions
Management functions
Work
- (2) Paid household employees.
Management functions
Work
- (3) Industrial workers, engaged, supervised, and paid by a commercial agency. Window-washing agencies, commercial laundries, delicatessen stores, and bakeries are illustrations.
- (4) Business persons—trained stenographers or office secretaries. Many business men have all of their household accounts kept by their office stenographers. Women of means and position delegate much work to private secretaries.
- (5) Professional persons. The preparation of food of small infants is often guided by a private physician; visiting housekeepers are utilized in the homes of the lower income groups; specialists in employment problems are asked for advice in concrete situations.

There is undoubtedly a far wider range of choice open to the homemaker who plans the work of the home than ever before. How are she and her husband to know how to make their decisions most wisely? Two things seem important; i.e., mature feeling and clear thinking. Any plan which is made should not be decided upon on the basis of tradition or in the light alone of the standards either partner was accustomed to in his or her childhood home, but new values must be worked out creatively by husband and wife together as they face their present life situation.

Many problems in regard to the use of paid workers in the home remain to be discussed, such as hours of work, contracts or assignments of work, the relation of adequate wages to the family budget, supervision and training

of household employees, right living and working conditions for employees, and the effect of paid workers on family life. In regard to all these problems, solutions can be found as principles of sound personnel procedure in the home are gradually evolved. The encouraging point is that necessary education and research are being stimulated and carried on, so that increasing insight and control are being gained in regard to these subtle and complex problems of relationships. The employed household worker has been the subject of two recent conferences, the first in Washington, D. C., in 1928 and the second in New York in 1931. The first conference resulted in the establishment of a permanent committee, the National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home. At the second conference, Dr. Hazel Kyrk presented the following tentative standards for the general houseworker:

SUGGESTED STANDARDS FOR THE HOUSEWORKER

Wages.—The establishment and the maintenance of standards for the wages, the hours and the working conditions of household workers depend upon the existence of adequate placement agencies and organizations of employers and employees.

The first step in the establishment of minimum wage standards by such agencies in any community is the development of methods of differentiating the skilled from the unskilled worker. Only those should be considered skilled who either meet a practical test of efficiency or furnish statements from employers that attest the quality of their work. To meet this purpose satisfactorily, the statements from employers concerning efficiency in various tasks, honesty, and so forth, should be made on forms drawn up by the placement agency after a reasonable period

of employment but before the employment is terminated. The worker who fails to receive a specified rating from the practical test or the employer's statement should be considered unskilled or semi-skilled; those who rate above may receive wage differentials above the minimum for their class.

In each community a minimum wage for the full-time worker in household employment, whether skilled or unskilled, should be established at a rate that meets the cost of living of independent women at a tolerable level. From the total estimated cost of living should be deducted the cost of room and board for the worker living in, and the cost of board for the worker living out. The skilled worker should receive a differential above this that will make the minimum wage equivalent to that in other employments requiring the same ability and period of training. The wages of colored workers should be equal to those of white workers of equal competence. When an unskilled worker is employed, the placement agency should secure periodic statements of her progress and arrange for corresponding increases in wages.

Hours.—"Working time" shall be defined as that time which is definitely assigned to some particular duty which prevents the worker from following her own pursuits. "Time on call" is that time when she is not free to leave the house but may follow her own pursuits on the premises. The maximum length of the working time of the worker living in should not exceed fifty-four hours a week, and of the worker living out, forty-eight hours. Two hours on call should be considered equivalent to one hour of working time. Overtime in any week should be paid for at an hourly rate that is figured on the basis of a fifty-four week for the worker living in and a forty-eight hour week for

the worker living out. One whole day per week, beginning not later than 10 A.M. and extending through the evening, or two half days a week, beginning not later than 2 P.M. on week days or 3 P.M. on Sundays and extending through the evening, should be free.

Vacation.—After a year of continuous service, one week's vacation with pay should be provided.

Living conditions.—The worker living in should have a room for her own use, and convenient access to modern bathroom facilities.

Accident protection.—Insurance against accidents arising in the course of employment should be carried by the employer, either by electing to come under the workmen's compensation law of the state when that is possible, or through private companies.

Employment contract.—A form covering types of duties required, wages, hours, provision for church attendance, time off, accommodations to be provided, and the length of notice to be given before termination of service, should be drawn up for use by employer and employee, at the time of making the engagement. A copy of this should be kept by each party concerned.

CONCLUSION

It seems clear that there is much more work to be done in the homes of our country today than is generally recognized or understood, even by those who are in a position to know the facts. The work life of the home needs reorganization in such a way that sound business principles may be applied without injuring the social or spiritual values of family life. The growth of personality of the members of the family group will be hastened if they are taught to adjust to economic reality and sound human relations within the home. Unfortunately there is in many homes today a lack of

such understanding, which makes for a high labor turnover and social conflict.

The most important solution is to face the facts and change our attitude about them. Much of the work connected with homemaking is in itself tiresome and deadening; but the larger aspects of the job are challenging. Successful family life is a definite accomplishment to be planned for, striven for, and achieved by a continuous effort of heart and will. A successful family does not happen by chance—it is an achievement of creative workmanship on the part of both husband and wife working together as team mates. Paid workers in the home will get a sense of the importance and value of their jobs as the two administrators, by their attitudes toward the work of the home and toward each other, show the dignity and the social significance of work and life within the home. When members of a family group can learn to function happily and creatively in doing the necessary tasks together, and with whatever paid workers the family decides to call in, they are thereby acquiring fundamental attitudes toward work and toward workers which will undoubtedly color the attitudes not only of the adults but also of the children toward labor and laborers in general.

The most successful family life is that in which all are concerned in trying to give the most they can to the other members and to the community, and at the same time all are trying to appreciate and enjoy all that is being given to them. Are we in America preparing our boys and girls to make their greatest contribution to their own family life in the years ahead? Are we also teaching them to appreciate the contribution which paid workers are making today in the million-and-more homes in America which are utilizing

them? Cannot appreciation, human understanding, and scientific analysis join hand in hand in bringing about better adjustments in relationships between employers and employees in the home as they are working together in the larger problems of stabilizing and integrating family life?

Dr. Amey E. Watson was executive secretary of Parents' Council, Philadelphia, 1925-1926, and a member of the faculty of the Pennsylvania School for Social and Health Work, 1918-1926. From 1927 to 1931 she directed a study of household employment in Philadelphia, the report of which is shortly to be published by the Federal Women's Bureau, and out of which developed the Philadelphia Council on Household Occupations. Dr. Watson also served as director of the National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home, 1929-1931.

Techniques of Marital Adjustment

By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

IN regard to social problems the average citizen is inclined to speak with authority. He may be admittedly uncertain as to why his car fails to perform properly, but he has few doubts as to what is wrong with the family. Most of his recommendations are simple and direct. What he does not like, he would pass a law against. The values and the standards which he derives from his culture and personal experience, he projects upon others as moral laws. The burden of his discussion would be well expressed by the title, "How to be more and more like me."

REFORM AND THE FAMILY

Among more sophisticated and scientific students of the family there is at times a tendency to ignore the complexity of family relations, the circularity and roundaboutness in the so-called causal relationships obtaining among social phenomena, and the necessity of understanding in order to control. The lack of any absolute norms or standards to guide the adjustment of marital relations is not always realized.

An interesting example of lack of insight and perspective on the part of certain persons is the constant preoccupation with the problem of divorce. Divorce is obviously the last step in the process of alienation which is made more or less inevitable by the fact that a particular couple marries. If copper wires meet to sputter and smolder until they burn themselves apart, we do not bewail the separation but rather the sparks. We do not hold the wires together so they may learn

to get along more quietly. Even if it were the breaking of a sacred connection to which we objected, our concern would be in keeping certain wires apart in the first place.

It is the writer's thesis that we have very little scientific knowledge as yet concerning the less obvious aspects of married life. Few people who fully realize the complexity of personality interaction can advise others with confidence, and many well-informed people find difficulty in managing their own affairs. Social workers, psychiatrists, and others who are more or less forced into the rôle of guiding the lives of others, must rely on the principle of balancing benefits, and make exceedingly crude predictions as to the future behavior of their clients. On the other hand there is every reason to think that science will ultimately throw light on marital situations and relationships that are interwoven with the extremes of joys and misery as experienced by human beings. Men in the future may at least accept or reject the scientific condensations of the experiences of others, just as they may now accept or reject the findings of medical science in dealing with their health problems.

Since the writer has no formula by which bitter, thwarted, blind, and wounded personalities may be suddenly reversed in their march toward the court room, his discussion must look toward the future. First, certain aspects of the marriage relation may be given the emphasis which seems necessary if understanding is to be the basis of control. In the second place, brief comment may be made upon

difficulties and possibilities involved in research into marital relationships. Finally, certain further comments may be ventured concerning the present efforts toward increasing happiness in marriage.

DYNAMICS OF THE MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

Students of the family accept the fact of changes in the family institution, and also the fact that cultural lag and disorganization may take place as the result of a differential rate of change as compared with other aspects of culture. Culture and culture conflict have as their counterparts, individual behavior and personality conflict. It is useful to think of certain aspects of behavior in marriage as rôles, more or less culturally determined, which an individual plays with reference to other individuals. Disorganization of an institution, viewed as a culture pattern, means a blurring, a clash, and an inconsistency of rôles played by persons. The writer has found it convenient to think of three type marriage rôles which may be played by modern women. Each may be either congenial or hostile to the rôles played by the husband and to those which he conceives for himself.

First there is the wife-and-mother rôle, involving as privileges, security, respect, domestic authority, economic support, and loyalty of husband to one who has borne him children. Obligations include rearing of children, making a home, rendering domestic service, and loyal subordination of self to the economic interests of the husband.

In the second place there is the companion rôle. This implies the privileges of sharing pleasures with the husband, receiving a more ardent emotional response, being the object of admiration, receiving funds adequate for dress and recreation, and having

leisure for a social and educational activity. On the other hand it implies as obligations, the preservation of beauty under the penalty of marital insecurity, the rendering of ego and libido satisfaction to the husband, the cultivation of social contacts advantageous to him, the maintenance of intellectual alertness, and the responsibility for exorcising the demon of boredom.

Finally, there is the partner rôle, corresponding to a new definition of the cultural situation which is gradually emerging. This entails the privileges of economic independence, equal authority in regard to family finances, acceptance as an equal, exemption from one-sided personal or domestic service to the husband, equal voice in determining locality of residence, and equality in regard to social and moral liberty. The obligation side of the balance sheet would include renouncing of alimony save in the case of dependent children, a contribution to the common fund in proportion to earning ability, acceptance of equal responsibility for the support of children, complete sharing of the legal responsibilities of the family, willingness to dispense with any appeal to chivalry, abrogation of special privileges in regard to children, and equal responsibility to maintain the family status by success in a career.

Obviously there is much overlapping in regard to rôles. It seems true, however, that domestic discord may be usefully analyzed with reference to consistency, compatability, and the balance of privileges and obligations involved in the rôles played by the marriage partners. There are some women who demand the privileges of all three rôles. Others receive merely the obligations, and are worn out with their attempt to bear a three-fold burden.

ANALYSIS OF PERSONALITY INTERACTION

In the writings of Burgess, Mowrer, Krueger, and others there is a keen appreciation of the interplay of personalities in the family group, but there still seems room for further emphasis and more detailed analysis. Likewise, there have been repeated attempts to prepare lists of causes of discord and of tensions. One wonders, however, concerning the relationship of a cause to a tension, and is rather inclined to suspect that at times there has been a mere naming and renaming of things rather than the provision of conceptual tools for the analysis of any particular case. Certainly a book could be filled merely by listing the traits, the conditions, and the circumstances in the absence of which a particular type or degree of discord would not have taken place.

There is also the configurational point of view to be kept in mind. One could stand a noisiness in eating soup if only the table conversation were different. Economic difficulties may derive part of their meaning from their association with sex incompatibility in the total configuration of circumstances.

Again, there is the principle of cumulative circular response to be taken into account. A marriage relationship is not static; rather, it tends to move at a rate and in a direction that is a function of the interactions that have gone before. A particular gesture makes inevitable a response which will call forth a second gesture which makes inevitable a second response arousing a third gesture which in turn carries the relationship a step further towards a climax. In one sense, the first gesture at the beginning of an interaction process is the seed for the final flower of hatred or of ripened love.

The writer has been in the habit of analyzing cases in a semi-diagrammatic fashion. It is assumed that both the man (M) and the woman (W) are products of heredity (H), culture (C), personal-social behavior (P), and natural environment (N). By personal-social behavior is meant the more or less unique and unstandardized relationships with others, as for example with members of one's family during childhood. Personality traits of M and W are described with reference to a schedule of traits too elaborate to be given here, but which includes as major categories: (1) intellectual aspects, (2) emotional-appetitive aspects, (3) direction and expression of energy discharge, (4) emotion-idea systems, (5) social adjustments, (6) temporal aspects, and (7) integrational aspects.

With marriage, the interaction of M and W begins, or rather continues, with each person in a new rôle. Assuming a gesture or stimulus from M to W, or in more general terms an impact of M's personality upon W, this influence may be either friendly or hostile. Assuming that the gesture is hostile, W withdraws somewhat from M and is transformed into personality W1, which is predisposed to make a hostile gesture which will alienate M and convert him into M1, now predisposed to a certain kind of behavior toward W1 which tends to be cumulative.

At any time, of course, in the interaction process, new external influences — C, P, or N — may come into play. A social worker as a personal-social stimulus may or may not be able to change the trend of the interaction process. In many cases where the external environment is constant the interaction approaches a climax or an equilibrium with the same mathematical regularity shown by chemicals

interacting in a test tube. Personalities M and W, starting at a certain social distance, become ultimately transformed into Mn and Wn, either more intimate, than at the beginning of their marriage, or now separated by a vast gulf of resentment and bitterness. Descriptive terms such as response tension or status tension may be applied to various stages of the relationship.

RESEARCH AND THE FAMILY

Important and valuable research in regard to the family has been carried on by E. Mowrer, H. Hart, W. Ogburn, G. V. Hamilton, K. B. Davis, E. Burgess, and others. Obviously, both the statistical and the case method can be used to great advantage and are by no means mutually exclusive. It is the writer's feeling, however, that preliminary clues and significant hypotheses can best be gained from case histories and life history documents. There is always danger of applying the statistical method to objective irrelevancies, and ignoring the more subtle and yet more significant aspects of the marital relationship.

One of the greatest difficulties confronting the student of the family is the establishment of some objective criterion of success in marriage. Obviously, certain individuals would be unhappy either in or out of marriage, and it would be unfair to take their unhappiness as evidence of failure in marriage relative to the marriage of one blessed with a more sanguine temperament. It is almost impossible to arrange control groups paired with reference to personality types, in order that marital experience as such may be compared. This suggests the desirability of investigating the causal factors in the marriage itself which may affect happiness, on the basis of repetitions and sequences in the experience

of the same group of individuals. Joint diaries of marriage partners or continuous life history documents based upon a predetermined schedule may prove to be a valuable research device. It is conceivable, for example, that quarrels and episodes of estrangement may be correlated with sex rhythms or recurrent types of ego frustration.

There are certain hypotheses in regard to marital adjustment which it is hoped may be tested by subsequent research. It seems desirable, for example, to lay stress upon the socio-psychological continuity of the family. It is clearly recognized that what people are depends to a considerable extent upon their family background. It seems plausible, however, to assume that what people want and expect in marriage, and perhaps their success in attaining it, depends also upon family background. Where there is an acceptance of and identification with a certain family situation in childhood, it is probable that the matured individual tends more or less unconsciously to seek a continuance or a reproduction of such a situation and to suffer disappointment through the failure of this quest. The familiar hypothesis of a tendency to select a marriage partner similar to the parent of opposite sex is merely a special feature of this more general hypothesis.

On the other hand, where there is rebellion and frustration in a childhood family situation, it is probable that a subsequent marriage is vaguely motivated by the desire to make good or supplement the lacks and inadequacies of the earlier situation. It is conceivable that the child who has been emotionally starved through contact in early years with cold, unresponsive, and unsympathetic parents may make almost morbid demands for intense emotional response from the marriage partner.

There seems no good reason why at least rough predictions of marital success should not be made once the preliminary research has been carried on. The various combinations as to social background and personality traits could be related to indices of success in marriage by comparatively simple statistical procedures. Of course the inadequacy of divorce and desertion as indices of family disorganization must be recognized. The whole question of norms and type patterns in marital relationships offers a virgin field for research. At least there is pragmatic justification for a hypothesis of determinism in marital relations. To assume that similar conditions lead to similar effects opens the way to scientific prediction, even though the failure of complex configurations to repeat themselves restricts prediction to useful approximation.

ADJUSTMENT OF MARITAL RELATIONS

It has been argued that our scientific knowledge of the family is still meager and that of necessity those having the temerity to guide the marital relations of others, if not the blind leading the blind, at least have no perfect clarity of vision. It is true of course that the more obvious hindrances to marital happiness are now dealt with by a variety of agencies and individuals—psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, social workers, courts of domestic relations, and marriage clinics—and that conspicuous successes can be pointed out. One cannot but suspect, however, that one is more likely to hear of the successes than of the failures.

From the writer's point of view, one of the most fruitful approaches consists in making available competent premarital advice in clinics such as those which have sprung up in Germany. With case histories and follow-up work, such clinics could in time

amass a veritable gold mine of scientific information. It is quite possible that such data would yield strong evidence in favor of a greater flexibility in the family institution. It may well be that institutions should be made for men who differ one from another. Why attempt to adapt varied temperaments to a single rigid pattern of folkways and *mores*?

In regard to attempts at adjustment of individuals whose choice of a marriage partner was perhaps unwise, certain possibilities and certain difficulties may be mentioned. It is probable that there is some advantage in the wisdom of an outside adviser merely because he is an outsider. It is probably often true that marriage partners attempting to find release and readjustment by sudden bursts of frankness and by revelation of repressed emotions may plunge deeper into the morass of misunderstanding and emotional bewilderment. There is always the danger, of course, that the ordinary outsider either unconsciously identifies himself with one of the warring parties or lays himself open to the suspicion of having done so. The rôle of the marital adviser will be easier when he has not only more complete knowledge but also the prestige now attributed by certain groups to the priest, the medical man, and the scientific expert.

Marriage partners in conflict are usually infantile and need the advice of a person who can take the rôle of the kind, just, and wise father. It is possible that in certain cases the person of common sense who commands respect and who suggests a simple remedy such as a vacation from marriage for victims of matrimonial shell shock, may succeed better than those who would probe to the depths of the unconscious.

It must be granted, however, that

the psychoanalysts have given extraordinarily stimulating concepts and hypotheses to the world and have developed techniques which must find some place in the equipment of the marital adviser of the future. There remain, however, certain philosophical questions. Should reality be faced if a working adjustment based on illusion is possible? How do we know what people really want? If repressed wishes appear in a distorted symbolic form in dreams and fantasies, this does not mean that the repressed wish was the real or stronger motive. If so, why the repression?

In the last analysis, as most psychoanalysts realize, the adviser must

limit his function to revealing persons to themselves and to each other. Motives can be dragged out into the open and given a fair chance; but in the writer's opinion, few advisers are wise enough or sufficiently inspired with the knowledge of what should be, to mold personalities or marriage relationships to a predetermined pattern.

Techniques of adjustment there will be, based presumably upon an infinitely firmer foundation of scientific knowledge; but it is to be hoped that the ultimate questions as to what values should be realized in personality and in marriage will be immune from dogmatism, either philosophical or scientific.

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The Bereaved Family

By THOMAS D. ELIOT

LET death rive out a member from a group bound in a functional unity of affectionate interaction—the experience of the survivors is bereavement. Outside of primary groups—in the sense of groups involving affective attachments—one does not find bereavement in any true sense. Outside the circle of personal acquaintance one may experience degrees of “shock” depending upon one’s capacities for one or another type of identification and sympathy,¹ or upon the existence of other than affectional interests or habits disturbed by the death. One may also observe rituals and simulations of bereavement, required by the culture.² And, within the family, death may occur without the phenomena of bereavement. Nevertheless it is clear that bereavement is typically a family crisis.

CRISES AND RESPONSES

Crisis, in the sociological sense, is the state of affairs in which the habitual behavior patterns, personal and cultural, are suddenly inadequate to the resolution of tensions in the situation. At such junctures the processes of readjustment involve emotional excitement and efforts in the organism to respond in some way that will relax its unpleasant state of tension.

¹ Cf. Eliot, Thomas D., “The Use of Psychoanalytic Classifications in the Analysis of Social Behavior: Identification,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXII, April-June, 1927, pp. 67-81; Becker, Howard, “Some Forms of Sympathy . . .,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVI, pp. 58-68, April-June, 1931.

² Cf. Harrison, Jane, *Ancient Art and Ritual*, Ch. V, New York: Holt, 1918, on the distinction between *dromenon*, a participant rite, and *drama*, an observers’ show; “*hoc est corpus*” vs. “*hocus* *pocus*.”

Whether these efforts are “successful” or not is as yet a matter of more or less subjective evaluation. The response may be more or less “intelligent” in the sense of voluntary attempts to adapt means to an end. In unprecedented crises the organism may fail entirely, even disintegrate; or it may compensate effectively through the more or less accidental or deliberate discovery or invention of new behavior patterns, which may then be recognized and accepted into the culture of the group as folkways.

When a crisis is one of a kind for which there is ample precedent in the social heritage of the group, the group culture usually includes a special set of *mores*, rituals, and attitudes, which are supposed to deal with such crises satisfactorily if gone through by those most concerned.³

The purpose of the present paper is merely to analyze and classify some of the ways in which families and their members have responded to the crisis of bereavement. The types of response described could all be illustrated from case studies if the space allotted for the article permitted. Elsewhere⁴ I have pointed out the tremendous importance of this eternally new but universal problem as a possible field for sociological research and eventual helpfulness, but also its difficulties because of resistances and taboos. Were it possible to secure records in which the history is reported by each member of the group and by one or more observing

³ See Harrison, Jane, *op. cit.*

⁴ “The Adjustive Behavior of Bereaved Families: A New Field for Research,” *Social Forces*, VIII, pp. 543-549, June 1930; “Bereavement as a Problem for Family Research and Technique,” *The Family*, XI, pp. 114-115, June 1930.

outsiders, such a multidimensional representation of the event (*gestalt*) would, of course, be far more significant.

It will be a long time, however, before a series of such cases can be secured. One way to shorten this time may be to make such groping efforts at interpretation of partial data as are now possible, and to publish them in such a way as may stimulate those in a position to prepare more thoroughgoing studies. If we accustom ourselves to the considerate facing of this common-uncommon experience of bereavement, we may gradually break down the isolation which exists in our culture between the bereaved and the never-bereaved, which is now supported not only by convention, stereotype, and taboo, but also by the general tendency to repress the disagreeable in our own past or prospective experience.

If the following presentation should seem merely to elaborate the commonplace, may I point out that it has often been only through some such elementary taxonomic analysis that signal problems have been opened up to scientific methods in important fields—such as botany, language, mental disease, or infant behavior—previously taken for granted by common sense.

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF BEREAVEMENT

The effects of bereavement may be divided very roughly into immediate and later, or primary and secondary.

Among the immediate or primary effects of bereavement I have noted several as typical:⁵

- (1) Abandon
- (2) Refusal or rejection of the facts
(including dissociation of emotion, or sense of unreality)
- (3) Preternatural or detached calm

⁵ Here, as throughout, I crave additional evidence and supplementary analysis, corroborative or otherwise.

- (4) Shock, in the neurological sense
- (5) Exaltation
- (6) Self-injury
- (7) Repression
- (8) Blame of self or others, revenge
- (9) The intense longing of grief

The first eight occur in various sequences and combinations with the last. Without grief (it may be assumed) the others would not arise. Ordinarily, however, the word "grief" is used so loosely, to cover all these phenomena, that it has little specific descriptive value. Shand has treated these aspects of sorrow rather thoroughly, at least from the point of view of the individual psychologist,⁶ and Becker has contributed further analysis and illustration of Shand's "laws of sorrow" as they bear upon bereavement.⁷ In the present paper we are concerned with *family interaction*, and shall pass over such immediate responses of bereavement as involve a minimum of interpersonal conditioning and subsequent family behavior. Refusal to believe the death; the degree of shock; the mental content or interpretation of one's temporary dissociation or exaltation; the particular form, degree, or circumstances taken by the impulses to hurt or destroy oneself—all these are indeed subject to influence by the current beliefs, cultural forms and models, and sanctioned folkways. But their organic or physiological basis, like the longing for the lost one, does not directly and inevitably require or imply any social relationship other than those which existed between the bereaved individual and the deceased individual. In the impulse to project upon god, devil, self, or other human beings the blame for the death, one

⁶ Shand, A. F. S., *The Foundations of Character*, Ch. IX-XIII, London: Macmillan, 1914.

⁷ Becker, Howard, *A Social-Psychological Study of Bereavement*, Unpublished Thesis, Northwestern University, 1927.

rets the first response directly dependent upon the existence of others, and, in some measure, a return to interaction with other survivors.

It should be noted, however, that behavior of any of the sorts noted in our above list, while not themselves requiring stimulation from others, may be increased by the behavior of other members of the family, through (more or less involuntary) imitation, or by contrast; also that, even though not caused by others' behavior, such responses as incredulity, prostration, ecstasy, suicidal or murderous attempts, and so forth, tend to set up marked reactions of compensatory or imitative nature in other members of the family.

SECONDARY REACTIONS

From a psychiatric point of view, the organism's efforts to deal with the shocks and strains of bereavement may be further analyzed. The following types or classes of response have been noted, corresponding to certain of the well-known "mechanisms" of the psychoanalysts:

(1) Escape, or attempted escape from the conflict. E.g., use of drugs, moving of residence, suicide, social distractions, or illusions.

(2) Defense and repression. E.g., removing all reminders, deliberate forgetting, postural self-control, or certain mental diseases."

(3) Compensation (in the narrower sense). E.g., rationalization, beliefs and cults, rituals of guilt or contrition, perpetuation of memory of deceased or wish or supposed will of deceased, revenge, penance or "overdetermined" grief.

(4) Masochism and exhibition. E.g., voluptuaries of grief, recluses, ascetics, and the like.

(5) Identification (introjective). E.g., stepping into the rôle of the de-

ceased, or "carrying the spirit" of the deceased.

(6) Transference and substitution (involving projection). E.g., reattachment of affections to new mother, child, or spouse; espousal of charities or causes.

Most of these behavior patterns take time and social interaction for their development: they are not immediate and primary, but secondary and socially conditioned. Some *mores* of bereavement correspond to and offer channels (or correctives?) for these mechanisms.

It will be noted that many of the above reactions may prove successful or unsuccessful, depending upon the inner resources and the current social situation. A classification based upon degree of success in readjustment may therefore cut across the psychiatric classification. For example, it may leave among the failures some efforts to substitute a love object, while other such reattachments may be spontaneous and highly successful.

It should also be noted that while the psychiatric classification stresses mechanisms or *processes*, a classification according to degrees of success will naturally stress *results*—i.e., cross sections of processes at a given time. To the extent that case studies have been drawn from recent bereavements, the results cannot be considered conclusive, as the processes of readjustment or failure may be incomplete.

Degrees of success in readjustment cannot be measured but must be roughly (and perhaps subjectively) evaluated, and then grouped. And there is a further difficulty—the danger of cultural subjectivity. That is, an adjustment which might be individually successful, such as remarriage, may be so frowned upon in a given place or time that it may turn out unhappy and thus prove a failure, or it may be misjudged as failure through moral preju-

dice. A refusal to commit suttee would have been considered failure in Hindu culture. Nevertheless, it seems worth while to attempt an empirical arrangement of people's social and secondary reactions to bereavement, in order of their apparent success. The nearest I can come to an objective definition of such success is a condition in which there is acceptable evidence that the unpleasant tensions have been relaxed or reorganized into some tolerable or more satisfactory pattern.

INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS OF BEREAVEMENT

A. *Total failure to readjust*

- (1) Suicide
- (2) Early death
- (3) Insanity
- (4) Moral disintegration
- (5) Obsession

B. *Partial failure*

- (1) Eccentricities
- (2) Physical illness or prostration
- (3) Aboulia, purposelessness
- (4) Isolation
- (5) Embitterment, misanthropy, cynicism
- (6) Reversion to or recurrence of griefs
- (7) Self-blame or personal hates
- (8) Fears
- (9) Loneliness

C. *Partial success*

- (1) Resignation, "God's will," etc.
- (2) Stoicism
- (3) Stereotyped formulæ of immortality, misery escaped, etc.
- (4) Sentimental memorials
- (5) Effective repression of memories
- (6) Intensification of affections
- (7) Extension of affections
- (8) Deliberate absorption in distractions or duties
- (9) New or fantasied love objects

D. *Conspicuous success*

- (1) New love object
- (2) Thoroughgoing religious rationalization

- (3) Spontaneous forgetting, relaxation of tensions
- (4) Devotion to life work
- (5) Identification with rôle of deceased
- (6) Creation of constructive memorials
- (7) Transmutation of the experience into a productive reintegration of the personality.

Obviously, the most frequent results are the infinite combinations of B and C above—partial success and partial failure.

These types of individual compensatory behavior have been listed in this paper because they undoubtedly influence the pattern of family behavior during the bereavement and post-bereavement periods. Like the immediate or primary responses to the death, these behavior patterns are contagious; but they are more consciously imitated or resisted than are the immediate impulsive responses. They may be based upon models and may serve as models for imitation. In fact, one finds persons worrying in bereavement because their own feelings do *not* correspond to some preconceived or admired model or code; or accusing another member of the family of indifference because of his easier readjustment or more effective repression.

In a simple culture it may be that grief is more or less sincerely standardized. The net impression from current studies in our own fluxing culture is that of the amazing differences in both the inner and the outer manifestations of grief, to be observed everywhere.

HOW BEREAVEMENT AFFECTS THE FAMILY

Neither the psychiatric classification nor the types of success and failure listed above represent responses of the

family as a whole. Allport's theory to the contrary notwithstanding, there is a difference between the individual responses and the constellation and interactions thereof in the family relationship.

Even more than individuals' feelings, the behavior of the family may be affected by the financial gain or loss incident to the death. It is difficult to isolate the true bereavement features from the socio-economic features which have been so extensively studied by social workers.⁸ For the social psychologist, however, the latter are of interest only as they influence personal attitudes and family interactions.

Turning, then, to what is more strictly the topic of this paper, let us note some ways in which families have been observed to change as a result of bereavement.

(1) The rôle of a family member exists in relation to the configuration and functioning of the family as a unit. A death tends to disturb this unity. The shifting of the rôles of the various members under bereavement represents a reshaping of the configuration.

(2) The consensus of the family in

respect to these rôles, i.e., in respect to its own pattern, may result; or, family conflict may develop as a sequence to incompatible conceptions of the rôle of certain members under the new conditions.

(3) Such conflicts or jealousies, or the lack of a common personal or domestic object or symbol of affectional attachment (conditioning stimuli) may result in decreased family solidarity.

(4) Acceptance of new interpersonal responsibilities may increase family solidarity.

(5) Removal of authority, of habit-stimuli, of home, or of support may lead to revision of family folkways.

(6) Maturity of children who lose their parents may lead to individualism or turning to their own families.

(7) The will, or personality, of the deceased, acting psychologically as a dynamic complex in each member's memory, and reënforced by consensus, may activate the behavior of the entire family.

No one case will display all the patterns, individual and social, that have been suggested above; but it may be of value to present such parts of a single case as will illustrate the sort of material being brought to light, and the manner of its analysis.

⁸ E.g., Richmond, Mary E., and Hall, Fred S., *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-Five Widows . . .*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1913.

NARRATIVE FC 10 (DISGUISED)

Analysis

This is the story of two cases of bereavement in the family of a professional man. No attempt will be made to give a comprehensive account—merely enough to offer a glimpse of what these experiences meant to me.

At the age of 25 I was happily married to a woman whose previous life had been in some respects very different from my own, but who brought to me the things that I had missed in the past. We were alike chiefly in having been brought up in clergymen's families and (naturally) in not having much money. Our first year was badly broken by the War. . . .

We were both eager for children and looked forward with happy anticipation to the coming of our first-born. She arrived a year later and fulfilled our fondest hopes. She was a healthy, happy baby. And then, a year and a half later a second child was born. We were delighted with the thought that our first would not have to grow up alone, but would have a playmate almost her own age. But we were doomed to disappointment. The second baby was undernourished and partly paralyzed. For a long time, in fact so long as he lived, we knew not what day his life might be snuffed out. He cried "constantly," until both parents were worn out with worry and lack of rest. We took him to the best medical men available, spending our time, our money and our strength until it seemed we could do no more. After nine months of struggle, we accepted the inevitable. We realized that he would never grow up and that the strain of caring for him was more than we could bear. So we secured a nurse who kept him for a time and later placed him in a hospital school. He lived for six years, and in all that time there was not a week, in fact scarcely a day, when we did not half expect word that he had slipped away. We visited him, because he was our baby, but one could hardly say that these were happy visits. When at last he passed on, it gave almost a sense of relief, and yet there was a terrible longing for the lad that he might have been.

After we had been married about six years, my wife was found to have a tumor which it seemed necessary to remove. So she went to the hospital, confidently expecting to be back home in a couple of weeks. But on the operating table another tumor was discovered, whose removal was exceedingly difficult. Even so she seemed to be regaining strength when peritonitis set in and within ten days she was gone. The shock was something I cannot possibly describe. I could hardly eat; I had a constant feeling of nausea. Mentally I was full of self-accusation for not having taken the whole case more seriously and provided more adequately. (Not for three days did I get her a special nurse, since the physician did not advise it.)

Fortunately I was able to sleep, and gradually my appetite returned. Within a week I forced myself back to my work. I devoted much time to my six-year-old girl.

Friends were thoughtful and quietly expressive of their sympathy. My mother spent a couple of weeks with us. But for weeks I went about in a sort of daze. I was luckily able to secure a good housekeeper, who quietly fitted herself into our household, learned our ways, said little, but assumed responsibility and became very fond of the small girl. This woman was with us for over two years.

It should be said that the second child was still living at this time, and was an added cause of distress throughout. He died about a year after his mother.

Outwardly we seemed to have made a good adjustment, but the girl missed her mother, grieving secretly. At no time since her death has she been willing to mention her. Several times I have talked to her about her mother, but she would never bring up the

Affectional bond documented.

The child's illness prolonged, the death expected; probably and naturally hoped for at times.

Reaction to expected death: desperate and loyal efforts.

Immediate reaction to death: relief. Secondary reaction: longing.

Unexpected death of wife. Immediate reactions: acute shock; and self-blame.

Sleep as an escape? Gradual and spontaneous relaxation of acute tensions.

Deliberate distraction through meeting duties; partly successful. Transference or intensification of affection.

Comfort in friends' contacts and attitudes. Aboulia? Deeper levels of shock not healed. Affections not fully compensated.

Routine reestablished—with change of folkways.

Child not readjusted.

subject of her own accord, nor would she ever say much when I opened the conversation. She clung to me and feared that I would leave her. Once when we were in a store together I went into a booth to try on some clothes; missing me she started for home crying as hard as she could. She did not want to go visiting or to have me go away. However, she has gradually changed in these respects and seems now to be quite normal.

For myself, I was inexpressibly lonely. The housekeeper did her work admirably, but she was a woman of limited education and could not be a companion. I drifted into a correspondence with an old friend, visited her, and for a time was quite sure she was the one to fill the gap in my life. However, I cooled off and realized that she might provide only sympathy and companionship for a time. When I thought of the one who was gone and asked myself, "What would she think?" there was only one answer. I broke off and decided that it was much better to "go it alone."

Still later a real affection developed between me and a woman five years my junior, who had lived with us when the small girl was about a year old. She was a charming person, who had gone through the experience of losing her father and making a very happy adjustment to her stepfather and stepbrothers and sisters. We decided to get married, and have for over a year been living happily together.

The past is not wholly buried, but my daughter has a good mother and I have a lovely wife. Everything seems on a firmer footing than ever before. We are facing the future with hope and courage, knowing that there is plenty to do, accepting our daily problems as they arise.

I think the fact that the two women were fond of each other, and the fact that the girl and her stepmother are getting on so well have contributed enormously to my own readjustment. When I look back I feel that I have been through hell, but for the most part I look forward and keep rather happily busy in the present.

It may be noted, as a point in method, that cases such as the above have been secured as spontaneous narratives, with only general oral suggestions as a basis. They are therefore less detailed and comprehensive than studies based upon a formal outline or

schedule, but have the advantage of preserving the spontaneous emphases felt by the bereaved in his own experience and memory; and they lend themselves to treatment as a series or sequence of situations as the configuration changes.

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*Repression.
Fears.*

Increased solidarity between survivors.

Gradual readjustment and relaxation of tensions.

Loneliness as partial failure to readjust. Inadequacy of economic substitute for wife.

Unsuccessful substitution of love object. Memory and wish of deceased as an active and inhibiting complex.

Apparently successful substitution of love object.

Identification in bereavement and in readjustment to "steps."

Frank admission that process is not complete, but prognosis good.

Child finds substitute love object.

Recurrent memories successfully assimilated.

Distractions in current duties and in change of scene.

Divorce and Readjustment

By ERNEST R. MOWRER

THERE are few crises in the life span of an individual which produce a more severe strain upon the personality than divorce.¹ In a culture which has not yet adjusted itself to the eventualities of divorce, even death tends to produce less conflict in the individual, because of the presence of socially sanctioned forms of adjustment. Whatever may be the situation in the future, there is at present little provision for adjustments after divorce in American culture. The individual is left to muddle along as best he can, whether as a child whose parents have been divorced or as an adult whose marriage is thereby terminated.

Divorce is, of course, but the climax of domestic discord. It is accordingly only a convenient symbol of the beginning of the period of readjustment. Actually, the period of readjustment often has its beginning long before the divorce is granted, although it is not unusual for individuals to refuse to face the situation until divorce has closed the door to reconciliation. In other cases, however, either one or both principals to the marriage may have completely readjusted themselves to the situation.

The problem of readjustment obviously is not the same for all individuals. In fact there is the widest range of differences, depending upon a large number of factors in the life experiences of the individual. Some of these factors have to do with the type of domestic discord, while others are related to certain differentials in the attitudes of the two persons.

¹The reader is referred to a more extended treatment of this subject to be found in Waller, Willard, *The Old Love and the New*, New York: 1930.

Domestic discord situations may be differentiated into two types, in terms of the basic conditions under which conflict arises. First, there is that group of cases in which discord is the result of the disorganization of either or both of the personalities involved. From the standpoint of this type of case, divorce simply means a change in the elements making for disorganization, since there has been continuous lack of adjustment throughout the life history of the individual. In this type of situation the intensity of mental conflict may vary from time to time, though such variations do not make disorganization less constant. Furthermore, at least one of the individuals may find in the marriage situation a partial solution of some of the perplexing problems of life. In so far as this is true, divorce adds complications to the life problems of that individual.

Where domestic discord arises out of the marriage situation, the problems of the divorce are likely to seem more cataclysmic in origin than otherwise. The result is that the individual who has previously seemed quite well adjusted may become completely disorganized in every phase of his social relations. He finds that even the simplest of problems, which previously he handled very proficiently, have now become enormously enlarged. The orderly world in which he knew his way around quite well has suddenly become topsy-turvy, and all his old techniques of adjustment appear weak and futile.

DIFFERENTIALS IN READJUSTMENT

The second group of variations grows out of differentials in the attitudes of the individuals involved. The prob-

lem of readjustment is, for example, quite different for one of the principals as compared to the other, unless the desire to terminate the marriage is mutual and for essentially the same reasons in each case. Situations of this latter sort, however, are relatively rare. What more commonly happens is that one individual has long ago lost interest in the marriage and has therefore readjusted to the changed situation, leaving his partner to the disillusionment so often associated with divorce.

Furthermore, the individual's conception of marriage is an important aspect in determining the nature of the crisis after divorce. For those individuals who go into marriage chiefly for practical reasons, the problem of adjustment after divorce is quite different from that where romantic ideas constitute the chief motivating factors.

Romanticism is in fact one of the causes of both divorce and the disillusionment which follows in its wake. The romantic code looks upon love as the only thing that counts in the selection of a mate. But how is one to know infatuation from love, which it resembles in every respect except that of lasting? The answer of the romanticist is that one must try, and, failing, try again. Divorce is the inevitable way out of a mistaken choice. But since so much emphasis is placed upon love, the disappointment is all the more keen, even though one is convinced that it was only infatuation. In the nature of such things, however, the love which has become infatuation to one is often still love to the other.

CONFLICT IN READJUSTMENT

Divorce inevitably gives rise to problems of sexual adjustment. Even though there was sexual conflict in marriage, it is seldom that such conflict prevented all sex expression. The tendency is to resort to sexual irregu-

larity of one kind or another. Not uncommonly, at first the individual gives way to a reckless abandon, as though to get even with the mate who has betrayed him.

Sexual irregularity, however, is seldom a satisfactory solution of the need for sex expression. Even when there have been illicit sexual contacts during the period of marriage, it is not so easy to go against the sex *mores* of the group and be content with this sort of sexual life. During marriage, the individual could always shift the responsibilities for his irregular sex behavior to his marriage partner; following divorce, he can blame only himself. The result is that ordinarily the only satisfactory solutions are found either in remarriage or in some form of substitution or sublimation.

The mental tensions arising out of sexual irregularity are, of course, of various sorts. If a man's relations are with prostitutes, there is always the fear of disease and the feeling of degradation for having stooped so low. At first this latter feeling is not always an impediment, since the individual sometimes wishes to degrade himself for the sadistic pleasure he gains thereby. Revulsion tends to set in later, inclining the individual to seek other outlets. Relations with women who themselves are seeking sex expression give rise to mental conflict for fear that the individual may become pregnant and assert her legal claim upon him for support of her child.

For the woman, on the other hand, there is always the danger of pregnancy as well as that of contracting a venereal infection. Furthermore, her sexual nature is probably more diffused than that of the male and does not find as satisfactory expression in experiences which are largely upon a physiological basis.

Another form of tension is that which develops as the result of breakdown in

habituation. Marriage inevitably develops a wide range of habits involving division of labor and reciprocal responses. The extent to which one's psychological economy is based upon these habitual reactions which constitute a large part of marriage relations is generally unappreciated until they have been interrupted. Unless there has been a gradual individualization of conduct prior to divorce, the individual tends to find himself suddenly faced with the necessity of reorganizing his behavior in many ways. The problem of reorganization tends to be aggravated by the distortion of perception which develops out of his feeling of depression and inadequacy.

EMOTIONAL DEPENDENCY HINDERING READJUSTMENT

Closely related to habituation is the emotional dependency which develops in married life. Not infrequently, especially where there is personality disorganization, one individual is highly dependent emotionally upon the other. Ordinarily, of course, this individual is not the one to seek a divorce, and hence it is he who suffers most. In some cases, for example, the individual was emotionally dependent upon a parent as a child. In marriage he transfers his dependency to his marriage partner. Divorce leaves him without any one to whom he can transfer this dependency, unless there are children. Even in this case, the transference is likely to be temporary and to give rise to conflict as the child grows older and makes other contacts.

In other situations emotional dependency finds expression in the tendency for one person to take parental attitudes toward the other. This tendency to shield the other and constantly to look out for his welfare may become so strong and result in so much pleasure to the individual that the loss of the

marriage partner as the focus of his attentions creates a severe strain upon the personality.

The importance of emotional dependency in producing tensions and stress following divorce is, of course, aggravated in modern life where premium is placed upon the response phases of marriage relations. This emphasis upon response as the basis of marriage facilitates the development of a high state of rapport in which every aspect of family relations is interlocked with every other aspect. In the early days of marriage, anything which threatens to disrupt this identification between the whole of the personalities of the two individuals is assiduously avoided because of its symbolical meaning. This tendency toward idealization often continues for one person even up to the granting of the divorce. Thereafter, the individual finds himself like a ship at sea in which the motor has been damaged beyond repair. If his problem were merely that of building up new habits, or of exercising any kind of rational control, readjustment would not be difficult. Trouble arises, however, because of the highly emotional basis of the tensions, which refuse to yield to conscious control.

Other factors in the strength of emotional dependency are whether or not the marriage is the first, and the age at which it was contracted. First marriages and those having their roots in the transition period between adolescence and adulthood have a way of going deeply into the emotional subsoil. Divorce leaves the individual highly disorganized, with little recourse other than to repress his emotions, only to have them reappear in disguise.

UNCERTAINTY IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Divorce also tends to introduce certain ambiguities into one's social

relationships. For the woman there is the problem of economic support which her husband has previously taken care of. Not infrequently the wife has had neither experience nor training which can be turned to account. She becomes dependent, therefore, upon alimony and the assistance of her relatives; or else she is compelled to lower her standard of living. She may even be harassed with the difficulties of finding any sort of work to do. The necessity of becoming self-supporting, the adjustment to which is normally made in the late teens and early twenties when the individual is more plastic, has been delayed by marriage, only to reappear when the person is less able to meet it.

Furthermore, one does not know how one's friends will react toward him. Even though the taboo against divorce and the divorcee has quite thoroughly disintegrated (as it has not in many groups), there is always the problem of whether or not one's friends will take sides in the controversy leading to divorce. Any reticence on the part of a friend, even though it arises only out of solicitude and fear of saying something which might embarrass the other, is interpreted as showing censorship and alienation. Undue solicitude, on the other hand, is quite as objectionable, since it suggests condescension and is a blow to one's pride. What the divorcee wants is to be treated as he has always been, when to do so is almost impossible, since all relations between the two persons have always included to some extent the marriage partner.

Where the taboo against divorce still holds, of course, this natural ambiguity in social relationships is aggravated. Not infrequently the individual feels that his only recourse is to make new contacts, leaving behind old friendships as a part of the marriage situation from which he wishes

to escape. Self-reproach, resentment, disillusionment, and feelings of betrayal are accentuated because of this tendency to break the larger web of social relationships.

Jealousy also plays a part in the problem of readjustment, especially in the case of the woman who has not wanted a divorce. The greatest strain, however, does not come until the ex-husband marries or seems about to do so. The divorced wife feels her pride hurt that another woman can replace her and perhaps hold him longer than she was able to.

REMARRIAGE AND READJUSTMENT

Remarriage is, of course, both a part and the aftermath of readjustment to divorce. Here, however, one is concerned with remarriage as a phase of readjustment. Not infrequently it seems the only solution, and yet in other cases it leads only to complications. Where the individual has become wholly emancipated from his previous marriage so that remarriage means no more than the obtainment of satisfactions which are lacking in single life, a second venture into matrimony may lead to a more harmonious integration of personality. But how can one know when he has achieved such a high degree of emancipation?

What not infrequently happens in remarriage is that the individual finds himself making unfavorable comparisons between the new alliance and the old. Idealization of the past helps to erase much of the disappointment in the first marriage and to make of it a trying standard for comparisons. And though the individual may enjoy his contacts with his new marriage partner, he may still unconsciously wish for the old and feel that he is somehow betraying a love which is more real than the present one. In fact this ambivalence of attitudes is all the more trying where

there is little to find fault with in the new alliance. If there were only opportunities which provided some semblance of justification for attitudes of hatred, these would provide outlets for the conflict and at the same time allow the individual to chastise himself.

Again, where the taboo against divorce is quite strong, the individual finds it difficult if not impossible to forget that he has been divorced and has remarried. The result is that his attitude toward his remarriage is always an apologetic one in spite of the fact that he finds it quite satisfactory. The person tends, accordingly, to keep aflame the resentment and the bitterness which were the aftermath of the termination of the earlier marriage, as a protection against any feeling of self-inculpation at having gone against the taboos of the group. His apologetic attitude itself indicates some lack of adjustment in remarriage.

Furthermore, if there were children by the first marriage, this tends to complicate the picture. Especially if the child happens to be of the opposite sex and to look like the divorced parent, the person may be much more fond of him than of children by the second marriage. The result is often a feeling that in his fondness for this child, he is being unfaithful to the present marriage. The individual may attempt to reassure himself and to prove his fidelity by mistreating the child, only to find that he has aggravated the situation by adding self-reproach for his parental negligence.

Children by the former marriage may further complicate the picture by causing the parent to doubt how well satisfied they are. Even though the child seems well adjusted to the foster parent, there is always the possibility of inner tensions. Furthermore, as the child becomes older, either as the result of contacts with his own absent parent

or as a reflection of the attitudes of those with whom he is in contact, he may regret that his parents ever were divorced. Fear of this situation is perhaps the reason why parents so often try to build up attitudes of hatred in their children toward their former marriage partners, since this is the only insurance they have against possible tension in the future.

READJUSTMENT OF CHILDREN

Divorce, however, not infrequently requires readjustment on the part of children as well as on the part of the parents. Unless the child is very young at the time of separation, considerable mental conflict tends to arise out of the fact that contacts with one parent are relatively infrequent. If this parent happens to be the favorite, the conflict is all the more severe. But whether the favorite or not, contacts are usually under the most favorable circumstances, and thus tend to increase the child's affection for the absent parent.

Furthermore, in neighborhood contacts the child whose parents are divorced often feels himself inferior to his playmates, since they have two parents whereas he really has but one. He gets the idea, therefore, that his parents were somehow less capable than those of his friends and playmates, otherwise how did it happen that they were less successful in meeting the problems of marriage?

Further difficulties in personality adjustment develop out of the fact that parental contacts are chiefly of one sex. The daughter is handicapped by having no one to confide in during the trying experiences of puberty if the absent parent is her mother. The son whose father is gone finds himself surrounded by feminine patterns, with little or no opportunity for developing a masculine rôle.

When the parent with whom the child lives has remarried, conflict often develops between the foster parent and the child. The child not infrequently resents the presence of the foster parent in the home. He may even blame his own parent for the situation, thus leading to estrangement between the child and both the principals to the second marriage.

Divorce also not infrequently leads the child to take a skeptical attitude toward marriage. This skepticism, however, comes into conflict with the natural tendency to seek contacts with the opposite sex and to wish to marry. The result is that the individual tends to enter marriage in a highly skeptical frame of mind, only to find all that he has feared. Thus divorce is passed on from one generation to the next.

Not always, however, does divorce lead to disorganization of the child. Where remarriage occurs relatively early, so that the child is hardly aware that the foster parent is other than his own parent, the child may be quite as well adjusted in the family as he would have been had his parents never been divorced. What are the features making for successful adjustment in one case and unsuccessful in another are

not entirely clear except in a general way. Much the same thing may be said about readjustment of the individual after divorce. Thus the foregoing analysis may be said to consist of a restatement of the problem for further research.

Future research in readjustment after divorce accordingly will keep in mind that the fundamental problem under consideration is that of personality development. Divorce is but one of the many crises in life which call for readjustment. The form which readjustment takes following any crisis depends upon two sets of factors: certain circumstances and conditions at the time of and following the crisis, and the background of personality development. Of these two sets, the latter is perhaps the more important, since the devices which have been used in the past in readjustment to crises will tend to function in the new situation. If these mechanisms are such as to facilitate adjustment, the situation is effectively and expeditiously solved. If, on the other hand, the personality does not show a high degree of integration, the individual is likely to be highly disorganized by divorce and to have considerable difficulty in finding any solution for his mental conflict.

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Parent Education and the Colleges

By HELEN MERRELL LYND

A DECADE or more ago there would have been something rather bizarre about mentioning education for parenthood in connection with the American college. Herbert Spencer commented that a man from Mars viewing the educational system of England in the late nineteenth century would assume that it aimed to produce a nation of celibates. Until very recently, if not at present, an observer of our liberal arts colleges might have concluded that they sought to produce not only celibates but emotionally anæmic individuals—and no mention of other than intellectual offspring ever penetrated the curriculum.

The steps by which this situation is being somewhat altered illustrate the process of cultural diffusion in from the periphery. At the fringe of the orthodox educational system, in a region where there were no established practices, no vested interests in textbooks and subject matter, and no teachers with professional training and prestige to be maintained, there grew up the nursery school movement and, in its wake, adult parent education. At first completely on the margin of established educational procedure, the latter gradually, and in attenuated form, came into certain universities through the back door of Home Economics—again a region so professionally unorthodox that it had fewer barricades than others against innovation. But it was not until the philosophy of parent education had itself undergone modification that it began to be considered as possibly relevant to a “liberal arts” program.

UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION

Before examining these developments we may briefly consider the point of view which any suggestion of education for parenthood meets in the colleges. Certain assumptions of long standing underlie the kind of college education dominant today: that what we call the “educational process” can best develop individuals by concentrating on training their minds; that this training can best be effected by their being taught certain facts and skills, the facts as widely representative as possible of knowledge accumulated in the past, and the skills primarily those necessary for the accumulation of more facts; that this training should result in the production of adults with “trained minds”; that a trained mind is the best equipment for any possible future, since the training acquired in a study of Keats or Alfred Marshall can be transferred to any other field, from parenthood to engineering.

No one of these assumptions remains unshaken at the present time. Both the truth and the adequacy of each one are being widely questioned. But it still may be a far cry from such criticism to the recognition that the kinds of problems and methods involved in education for parenthood have any place in collegiate education. * Parent education, also, in its early days was largely concerned with imparting certain facts and skills—in the main, those dealing with the^uphysical care of children. From this preoccupation with questions of eating,

sleeping, elimination, diet, and clothing, it has expanded to include other than physical factors in the study of "the whole child" and latterly of the whole home environment.

But with this expansion an anomaly has appeared, fundamental to the whole effort toward parent education, and far-reaching in its implications for all educational practice. Nursery school teachers, psychiatrists, and others concerned with the development of children, however much they may differ on other matters, agree that the whole atmosphere of the home is far more important for the well-being of children than any specific of child care. Diet lists, advice on clothing, and even on temper tantrums, negativism, and adolescent adjustment, may be procured from competent experts. For all these things, the main subject matter of parent education to date, there may be parental surrogates. But in the home there are no substitutes for creating a tranquil environment. In such subtle matters as this, leaders have become increasingly convinced that telling parents what to do may not bring results—that *instructing* people in how to create a desirable home atmosphere for children may become a rather futile procedure. As one mother put it, "I try to do just what you say. But I am just a nervous wreck *trying* to be calm!" Because of these difficulties, parent education has perhaps been least successful in those aspects which its own leaders regard as of primary importance. And with good reason.

PRECEPTS DO NOT ALTER PERSONALITY

"Security is one thing you must give your children at all costs," say the teachers of parent education. But what profits it to say this to a father playing the frantic blind man's buff of professional advancement upon which

he feels that his status depends, or seeking uncertainly to discover the undefined rôle of a husband in a modern marriage in which many of the earlier satisfactions of prestige and dominance no longer exist? What advantage to say it to a mother who has never reconciled her picture of a successful husband with reality, or who is fumbling to find her own rôle in a world where a woman's path no longer runs straight from a childhood of sampler-making through a marriage of self-justifying activities of wifedom and motherhood, but at every step reveals, instead of the earlier unequivocal social sanctions, a multitude of possible choices? Why say it to two people who are themselves uneasy from lack of sexual or personality adjustment in marriage, or whose values waver in a world where God is no longer in His Heaven and the very stars wander?

"A child's development is a constant process of weaning from one stage to the next. At each period he must have the freedom essential for his emotional needs. Do not be emotionally dependent upon your children!" say the wise ones. But men and women cannot, simply by taking thought, add a cubit to their emotional statures. Parents who have married blindly under the drive of unsatisfied infantile needs (a thwarted or a too demanding emotional life, a feeling of inferiority, an unsolved personal conflict between the desire for freedom and the desire for security) cannot by attempting to follow instructions become free men and women. Neither marriage nor childbearing can in itself solve personality problems.

Making discipline an impersonal matter, eliminating any feeling of guilt on the part of the child, having the home a place of developing independent judgment rather than of autocracy, making the child feel that no act of his

can ever be an emotional threat to his parents—all such things are the products of emotionally mature parents. They are such rare achievements, indeed, that a crusader like John B. Watson gives up in despair and says that it is easier to abolish the home than to change parents. And yet it is precisely this difficult task that parent education must attempt to achieve.

So we might continue with other essentials which undercut specific details of child care. "A child should have the experience of finding satisfaction in creative work irrespective of adult approval." But he is unlikely to find this in a home with parents who have themselves never got beyond the stage of finding satisfaction for work done, chiefly in the approbation of parents or parent substitutes. "A child should educate himself through play and the joy of spontaneous activity." But does this occur with parents who have never discovered for themselves any alternatives to bridge and golf, who do not know what sorts of leisure or play outlets may give them the greatest emotional release?

EDUCATION AS PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

If, then, the attempt to instruct parents in goals and techniques of child rearing misses those goals which the teachers themselves regard as most important, what can be done? In the first place, it would seem that parent education must be extended from the education of adults whose habits are already relatively fixed, to pre-parental education. The effort to introduce some form of parent education into colleges, and even into high schools, indicates a recognition of the need for this shift. In the second place, there would seem to be need for an education which concentrates on *learning* rather than on *teaching*, on building up certain

habitual ways of acting rather than on telling what should be done in certain situations. Let us see what parent education in terms of learning might include.

Since the chief thing that parents can give their children, without which all else may prove meaningless, is themselves as individuals making a happy home, the first concern of parent education must be the development of those individuals. Just as child study which deals with any aspect of the child's personality rather than with the personality as a whole is now regarded as inadequate, so parent education which stresses only an intelligent handling of problems of child care or anything else rather than the development of "the whole parent," must be considered a rather emasculated second best. Nothing less than an education which aims at the richest development of the individual is adequate.

This would presumably involve, first of all, a direct approach by each student to an understanding of his own personality needs, stresses, and aptitudes. Such a direct facing of problems does not by any means imply an over-introspective, pulse-holding hypochondria. Indeed, to be effective it would require a large degree of objectivity; but it would mean seeking a clear understanding of those factors which are going to be more important to one's children than any knowledge and techniques of child care that one may acquire.

A WOMAN'S NEEDS

For a woman, for example, this would include an understanding of her own physiological needs: objectifying the experiences of possible strain involved in menstruation, sexual tensions in adolescence, adjustment in marriage, pregnancy, lactation, caring for young children, and ways in which

her personal idiosyncrasies may affect all of these; the discovery of her own best health habits; ways in which her special physiological balance may affect her adjustment to husband and children, other persons, and her work.

Likewise, the student would attempt to gain insight into her psychological needs: the emotional patterns of her childhood and the way they may be merged into more mature habits; the extent to which she seems to find satisfaction in people or in things; her desire for new experience versus security; her impulse to follow or to lead; ways in which she may achieve a genuine independence, neither leaning constantly on others nor immunizing herself in an over-cautious way from caring for other people; her own ideal for herself and the way it may be reconciled with actualities; her ideal of her husband, its sources, its self-contradictions, and its relations to other wants; recognition of the relation between her personality and sex needs and the kind of satisfaction each requires; the way in which any of her special traits may affect her relation to her husband and her children; an understanding of the way she herself gets on with the older generation, as a clue to the adjustments she must make to the younger. She can attempt to appraise objectively her attitude toward marriage: her demand for security and permanence as opposed to flexibility; for concentration on one individual versus maintenance of a variety of relationships; for an intensive sharing of interests or having predominantly independent pursuits.

This direct approach to the needs of the future wife and mother would also include an understanding of herself as an individual in her own cultural setting: the relation of her own emotional drives to the various kinds of

alternatives which may be open to her in this changing cultural situation; the kinds of professional work she may do and the possibilities and the hazards of each; the varieties of marital and extra-marital patterns possible for her, and their implications; the common hurdles which every marriage must meet; the relation between profession and marriage and how it may affect child rearing; the hurdles a child must meet in growing up in contemporary America; the alternate kinds of life possible on various economic levels; the relation between her conception of what she would like and the possibilities of achieving it as far as they are predictable. The job of being a woman and a wife amid the strains of a business culture demands an imaginative insight and awareness of another's problems which it is well to recognize and prepare for—a realization that men are not just "that way" in their moods but are that way under competitive pressure.

Finally, an educational experience of this sort should help a woman to find valid sources for a scheme of values which is her own. If she has traditional values held with such emotion or prejudice that she regards them as not open to discussion, she should learn to examine them in the light of wider and more flexible experience. Or she may find that she is in the modern stream of lack of strong conviction on any subject, and may want to discover, through æsthetic or other experience, how she may find some integration and focus of energy. Or again, she may be cherishing fantastic values and her need is to reconcile them with actual possibilities. Whatever her background, some integration of experience in terms of values which can sustain and direct her energies is undoubtedly part of her search.

The above is, of course, only a tentative suggestion of some of the things that might be included in the attempt

of a woman to gain insight into herself in relation to her world. The same necessity for understanding of oneself as a basis for parenthood would apply to men. The specific questions studied would be different; and the relative emphasis would vary not only between men and women but also among individuals.

SATISFACTION IN EXTERNAL EXPERIENCE

But, as stated, such an approach to parent education may seem almost ridiculously egocentric and in danger of laying an exaggerated emphasis on "problems." It cannot take place in a vacuum or in a world of mirrors in which one sees only one's own image. Important—indispensable—as is the effort to "know thyself" for any one who would be an adequate parent, a no less essential part of education for parenthood is the losing of oneself in experience wholly external, which bears no immediate relation to one's personal problems. It is not the particular content of the experience which is of chief importance. It may be interior decorating or study of consumption habits or some other aspect of homemaking. But for other individuals, equally valid training for parenthood may lie in the study of community government, or musical theory, or physics, or archeology.

The subject matter may vary in social significance, but it is not that which counts most. The essential thing is that somewhere, in something, every prospective parent shall find some work in which he can lose himself, in which he is master of some craft or skill, in which he can find the emotional satisfaction of successful achievement—some area where, irrespective of other people, he is himself happy and at home. Some such focus should presumably develop into a dominant

vocational interest. Others may become centers of leisure pursuits. The essential thing is the feeling of competence, the emotional release, the satisfaction which no one can take from him, an achievement and enjoyment which he has on his own terms.

The best preparation for parenthood, whatever form it takes and whatever else it includes, would seem, then, to have at least these two aspects: the direct approach through an appraisal of oneself, and an oblique approach through an impersonal subject matter. In other words, education for parenthood should help the individual to surmount the contemporary illiteracies of person-to-person relations, of mate-finding, of job-finding, and of rich enjoyment of leisure.

CHANGING CONCEPTION OF EDUCATION

But why call this parent education? It might be called mental hygiene; for it is precisely the aim of psychiatrists or other teachers of mental hygiene in developing a healthy personality. Or it might be called simply education; for some such emphasis is beginning to appear in elementary and secondary school programs and is suggested by many of the critics of our present collegiate education mentioned above.

What modifications of American collegiate education are being suggested which would seem to point toward some such conception of education as has been outlined? In the first place, there is beginning to be some recognition of the fact that education solely or dominantly intellectual in emphasis, leaving out of consideration all emotional and other aspects of personality, may be as inadequate for a teacher, a lawyer, a business executive, or a bond salesman as for a parent. That this recognition is still far from general appears in such facts as that President Meiklejohn has said that "the college

is a place not of the body, nor of the spirit, nor even of the will; it is, first of all, a place of the mind"; and that an educator making a survey of collegiate education with a view to founding a progressive college for women, entitled the results of her exploration "A Curriculum to Build a Mental World." Nevertheless, there is increasing recognition that, in so far as both seek the most complete unfolding of the individual, the aims of mental hygiene and of education are identical, even though this recognition frequently appears only in the form of a stray psychiatrist on the campus, a special vocational bureau, or an odd course or two definitely related to individual interests.

But would a reorientation in terms of personality development be possible in a system so deeply committed to passing on a knowledge of the past as a basis for education? Part of the answer may lie in the fact that, as a second modification of current collegiate practice, there is a growing feeling that acquiring knowledge of the past experience of mankind is inadequate training for an unknown and largely unpredictable future. In the past, education has laid its emphasis on things of permanence and stability; if not "underneath are the everlasting arms," at least "until death do us part," economic verities, and the laws of Euclid. But the one thing we can know about the institutional world in which the new generation will find itself is that it will wear a very different aspect from that of today. Hitherto the college has educated people in a knowledge of the past, in the belief that it will have some relevancy for the future. Now it is beginning to recognize that too much immersion in possibly outworn patterns, far from being a help, may actually hinder adaptation to a changing world.

As Whitehead has put it:

The whole of this tradition [from the age of Plato to the end of the last century] is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will live substantially amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mould with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false. . . . In the past the time-span of important change was considerably longer than that of a single human life. . . . But today this time-span is considerably shorter than that of human life, and accordingly our training must prepare individuals to face a novelty of conditions.

But in the third place, if education must expand to include the rather overwhelming task of educating the whole personality rather than the intellect alone, and educating for an unknown rather than an anticipated future, there would seem to be no alternative to using the experience of the present as a medium of education. Here again the trend of education would seem to be approaching the kind of procedure suggested for parent education. Perhaps the major cleft in educational practice today is between the teaching of lessons in traditional schools and the providing of opportunities for learning in realistic situations, which is found in nursery schools and some of the so-called "progressive" elementary schools. The latter procedure is just beginning to touch higher education.

REALITY IN EDUCATION

What is "real" experience for a college student? There is probably not a woman's college in the country that is not concerned with the "week-end problem." The dean of one of the leading Eastern colleges has said that the aim of every college girl is to make two week-ends meet. The college aims to save her energy for its main

pursuit, the intellectual life—a life mediated to her largely by a group of celibate women who are permanently apart from the life which is most real to her at the moment. Almost inevitably an air of unreality is imparted to her college work. The premium on the not-too-intellectual girl among the men she meets emphasizes the conflict. By this sort of dual existence she is not only building up habits of lack of concentration, bifurcated personality, and so on, but is trying to work out her emotional problems without guidance, and losing all opportunity of having her real experiences serve as a medium of her education.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher deplores the fact that girls of today, instead of entering into and making their own the realms of literature and science and art which have been opened to them through higher education, have simply substituted bridge and clothes for the Victorian pursuits of housework and embroidery. But is not the girl of today using bridge and clothes in precisely the same way that the Victorian used embroidery and housework—to find and attract a mate? And can it be denied that this for her is as important a pursuit (requiring the best she has and the best that education may give her) as any experience of the inherited wealth of the past?

The development of emotional maturity, spoken of above as one of the chief essentials for parenthood, is said by psychiatrists to demand, among other things, the ability to see situations in terms of their realities rather than of infantile symbolisms and needs, and to make choices freely in terms of these realities. If this be so, must not the educational experience of a student take it into account by helping him to analyze and face the actual situations in which he is living. Much of our education has tended to furnish a

retreat or escape from reality rather than an active help in living in the midst of it.

None of the above, of course, implies any lack of recognition that Simon-pure intellectual interests may form a large part of a student's most vivid experience in his college years. The only suggestion here is that development of the mind will itself proceed more fruitfully if related to other aspects of the personality, and that the delights of exploring knowledge will flower more richly if they can come as a part of, rather than set over against, other experience.

INDIVIDUAL EMPHASIS

Such a view of education may seem to lay an impossible burden upon the curriculum-maker. And it does. A fourth point at which collegiate education is approaching the needs of parent education is in its concern not with curricula for groups of students, but with individuals. Every person is born with a special organization of biological propensities. These are malleable and can take on an almost infinite variety of forms. But amid the strains and stresses of an adult environment peculiar to him alone, they early assume a highly individualized pattern. Every new experience which comes to him, being incorporated with these earlier habits, stamps more deeply the uniqueness of his particular personality integration. Whatever elements they may have in common with others, his mental and emotional organization, his experiences past and present, and his glimpses into a problematic future are his alone.

What Sidney Webb has said of government in the twentieth century applies still more to education:

[Up to the present it] has reminded us rather of the crude and clumsy proceedings of an army of occupation than of any fine

adjustment of services to needs. . . . But the wholesale method of supplying human needs is very far from ensuring accurate adjustment. . . . The normal human being is a mere abstraction, who does not exist. . . . So varied is our individuality that whatever is handed out to all alike must necessarily fail to meet our requirements with any exactness. . . . By far the most important business of the twentieth century . . . must be to provide not only for minorities, but even for quite small minorities, and actually for individuals.

We are no longer content with the army contractors' standard sizes.

Thus it appears that if we conceive a parent education adequate to the needs of parents it becomes an education essential not only for parents but for any kind of pursuit and for every individual. And, conversely, if we have an adequate collegiate and pre-collegiate education, there will be no need for parent education.

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Education of Children for Family Life

By SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG and BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

TO RAISE the question of educating children for family living is to accept at once that turmoil of change out of which have come the distinctive problems of the present-day home. In a static culture the family perpetuates its customs and its lore automatically. Through what the children see and hear all around them from earliest infancy, through their participation in the rituals and the labors of daily existence, through the common routines of which they become a part, they absorb the ways, the attitudes and ideals, the techniques and the values that make up family life.

Our culture today is anything but static; and the family in particular has been subjected to a variety of influences which break into the cycle of processes that normally reproduce the traditional pattern. With the shifting of populations—geographically, vocationally, socially, and economically—we must not only accept a breaking up of the old patterns of family life, but we must adjust ourselves to the development and the practice of new ones.

FAMILY PATTERNS

The patriarchal family still persists, in spite of numberless difficulties, sometimes inviting admiration and envy for its successful performance, but more frequently subduing the children or driving them from home. At the other extreme are the families which, though the individuals go their respective ways and seem to have hardly more in common than the home headquarters, yet manage somehow to carry on the semblance of a unified life.

Among the newer patterns being developed, we see the increasing number of married couples who intend to have no children, where both partners are working, and living with a minimum of household equipment and machinery. There is the one-child family, with the mother preoccupied in a variety of time-consuming activities and relegating to others the entire care of the child, or with the mother working outside and at the same time keeping full control; and in both types, we find successful development of personalities and relationships. There is the family in which the father is "in the city" most of the time, or traveling, appearing at week-ends and on holidays as a more or less friendly visitor; and still the family develops bonds and loyalties that leave nothing to be desired. Yet in other families no different in form, the mother hovers over the children solicitously, driving them toward performances calculated to impress the neighbors, and at the same time cramping their style.

There are also important variables as to education, as to the length of time children remain dependent, and as to attitudes toward work, money, sex, and civic relations, to say nothing of religious differences.

Whether successful or not, the very multiplicity of possible patterns increases the likelihood that the two partners to a marriage will bring to the new home diverging if not altogether irreconcilable standards and purposes. In an age of science and inquiry, men and women who make some claim to being guided in their conduct by reason

will at least want to know what is significant in their pictures of family life, and what is irrelevant.

POSSIBLE CHOICES

When getting married was taken for granted, there were probably many doubts and misgivings, but young people were neither free to ask questions nor very clear as to just what their questions were. When there is choice, as is presumably the case today, the young men and women want to know more definitely what there is ahead for them.

Today a young couple have considerable choice regarding their children. They may decide to have no children at all; or they may decide on an arbitrary number, and on the spacing, although there is no choice whatever as to sex. Within certain limits, a married couple can manage in accordance with deliberate decisions; whereas in the past, children were literally gifts of the gods. This ability to make certain choices, however, carries with it corresponding responsibilities. Society has always expected, of course, that parents would do by their children the best they could, even when children came as free gifts, whether welcome or not. Today the fact of choice and the realization of responsibility make many elements in society increasingly exacting, so that people are coming to expect that a couple will have no children unless they are willing to do something better than passing well; and that means making a deliberate effort to find out the what and the how of child caring and child rearing.

NEED FOR EDUCATION

Everyone today is affected by the opportunity to choose what he will do about his life in relation to the other lives that constitute his family, and young people in particular are faced

with responsibilities that are literally unprecedented. For girls and women, whose lives in the past have as a rule been lived within traditionally ordered bounds, the opportunity for choice has come as a somewhat puzzling privilege. In the old days, their work, both before and after marriage, was "cut out for them." But now the new freedom means responsibility for making many decisions for which they have as yet no adequate guidance.

The problem is apparently that of making available to existing homes, or to many of them, those standards and practices, those ideas and ideals that our past experience and new knowledge indicate to be of value in the rearing of children, and specifically in educating them for the effective management, in their turn, of their personal lives and their children. ~~But it is impossible to find standardization in these matters, since any preparation is for an unknown future. The forces that have broken up the past cultures have not yet spent themselves, and the education we seek is to prepare for further changes.~~ Moreover, we are planning increasingly to meet individual needs and individual situations. In so far as we accept the principle of individual variation in our dealing with children, we shall extend it to adult life and expect that any given community will always be made up of many kinds of family patterns.

We see around us many young people who are making intelligent and discriminating choices. Many of them are pioneering; and like the pioneers of another day, they are meeting difficulties and obstacles, disappointments and failures. But many are succeeding magnificently; and the contribution of all of them is as significant to family living today as was the contribution of the pioneers who opened up new physical frontiers. We shall undoubtedly

learn a great deal from such individuals through case studies, and we shall find valuable teaching material in such concrete experiences, rather than in averages and vague generalizations.

SCHOOL BEGINNINGS

Children are born into one type of culture, but by the time they grow into adolescence, the world around them has completely changed, and they find themselves unprepared for it. For a generation or more, society has been experimenting with a variety of efforts to make up through the schools and other agencies the shortcomings of the home in educating its children for family life. The teaching about food and clothing, primarily to girls and more recently to boys, represents one clearly defined effort to round out the increasingly inadequate education supplied by the home.

Because they are less subtle and more objective than many other problems of home management, nutrition, diet, and hygiene have been most conspicuous in the programs of formal education. This emphasis has also been in part due to the fact that a heterogeneous population has been beset with the difficulty of adapting strange food materials to a traditional mode of preparing, cooking, and serving. In part, too, much of this kind of teaching has been made necessary by the rapid development of entirely new knowledge and concepts regarding diet and nutrition, personal and family hygiene, and the care of children.

Later there was added instruction in household management, principles of interior decoration and clothing, economy in buying, budgeting, and other matters related to the problems of housekeeping. Still later came courses on the use of various labor-saving devices, safety in the home, and other recognitions of the need for

direct adaptation to new conditions.

Like other formal instruction undertaken by schools, there has in all this been the tendency to transmit to young people new knowledge and principles in the form of finished doctrine or standard practice. It is for this reason that, not so many years ago, educated women would be perplexed by lectures on vitamins, and would ask, "Don't calories count any more?" Here, as in other phases of organized education, the need is to teach new and better ways without barring the road to still newer and presumably better teachings. If we are to have the benefits of science, we shall have to avoid dogmatism and train for open-mindedness, even in so fundamental a thing as homemaking. In the very act of teaching, it is necessary to impress upon the learner the tentative nature of the doctrine, its probable replacement by later knowledge, and the various sources of further information.

Since the beginning of the century there have been great advances in the quality as well as in the scope of the work done by schools in the general field included under such designations as domestic science, home economics, or household arts. There has also been an expansion so that larger numbers of children are reached. During the War there was aroused widespread interest in the health of our people, and the teaching of hygiene was tremendously stimulated. The work was either organized as special courses, or offered in connection with biology, physical training, or homemaking.

Within about ten years there has been developed a further interest in the possibilities of school instruction as an aid to better homemaking. The changes that the typical family has undergone and the problems that it has to meet indicate the elements regarding which education is most needed.

WHAT MOTHERS NEED TO KNOW

The modern family, for one thing, is decidedly smaller than that of the past. This means that for a generation and more, children have been growing up with relatively few brothers and sisters, lacking in the home those intimate contacts with a varied assortment of growing children that served in the past as an introduction to human nature. As a result, young mothers find themselves rather ignorant regarding babies and children, how to handle them, and how to manage them. Nor can they learn enough from their experience with their first to do a much more effective job with the youngest—the series is not long enough, and the conditions of living are unsuited to give isolated mothers adequate training.

Some three hundred mothers who were college graduates were asked in what subjects or training they felt themselves to be most lacking for the purposes of successful family living. Over 77 per cent expressed the need for education in child training. More than half called for psychology, which probably indicates in part a groping after the same thing. Fifteen per cent felt the need for additional training in education.¹

The schools, and in recent years the colleges in growing numbers, have extended their household or domestic science courses to include more and more of psychology and child training, and of sociological material on the family, its functions, and its special problems. New courses have also been introduced in general acceptance of the idea that homemaking is a vastly larger technical task than housekeeping. Within a year, courses more definitely pointed toward parenthood

have been organized in public school systems. In Atlanta, Georgia, a parent education teacher is being placed in each school, and this type of education is considered as essential as any other. In South Bend, Indiana, a ninth-grade unit is being offered "on the baby, preschool child, adolescent child and homemaker."²

In 1929 Dr. E. Leona Vincent, psychologist at the Merrill-Palmer School, reported in a study of experiments in pre-parental education that there were at that time, within less than ten years of development, "classes in hundreds of schools ranging from the sixth grade through work of graduate rank in colleges and universities in almost every state in the Union and in several territories."³ A cursory examination of the courses as described in catalogues and reports shows a wide range as to the critical selection of content and as to the types of psychology taught—almost everything from the classical faculties to the latest speculation on configurations. The new direction of the major purpose, however, is unanimous and unmistakable.

THE CHILD AS THE OBJECT OF STUDY

From didactic courses it was natural to proceed to practical work, as had been the case with the natural sciences and with the various household subjects. Yet it is barely ten years since the Merrill-Palmer School in Detroit began to use its nursery school set-up as a laboratory for training young women in the care and the understanding of children. This method is obviously a great advance over teaching how to wash and handle babies through the use of dolls. It is gradually being

² *School Life*, Dec., 1931, p. 67.

¹ Lindquist, Ruth, *The Family in the Present Social Order*, pp. 34 ff. University of North Carolina Press, 1931.

³ "Preschool and Parental Education," *The Twenty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Ch. XI, Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Pub. Co., 1929.

adopted in other centers and in secondary schools, so that here and there over the country, high-school girls in increasing numbers are having the opportunity to handle and observe and study about real live babies and young children.

Other important additions to the school include many substantial subject-matter courses which cover the cultivation of routine habits in infancy, the place of play in the child's life, social adjustments, acceptance of individual differences, and various phases of mental hygiene. These efforts to translate the findings of research workers into usable principles are bringing about saner and more flexible attitudes toward discipline on the part of teachers, as well as on the part of the young people who are exposed to such instruction. There is also an increasing assimilation into the instruction of basic information about sex and reproduction, and about the place of the emotions in life and in human relations.

This, then, is the area of understanding and practical skill in which the more intelligent and more self-conscious parents are most keenly aware of their own deficiencies. It is here, too, that the "home" is most frequently reproached with failure. When delinquency comes before the social agency, or "problem children" before the clinic, or marital friction before the court, the "home" that produced such personalities is at once exposed as having failed. How can people be endowed with insight into human nature and with skill in managing it?

ATTITUDES AS WELL AS KNOWLEDGE

It is coming to be generally recognized among educators that instruction, or the transmission of information, is not sufficient. Since this development of attitudes is so large a part of the problem, it is important to ask who

does the teaching, as well as what is being taught. Emphasis upon the personality of the teacher indicates our dependence upon subtler influences than correct pedagogical practices alone can yield. This means both a selection of teachers who have themselves had the kinds of background and experience that bear favorably on attitudes and sentiments related to family life, and a management of teacher training and teacher service that constantly gives a direct contact and coöperation with actual homes, their problems, their practices, and their adjustments.

However far we may extend the instruction or improve the technique of the school, the home remains the most vital and continuous influence for developing attitudes and values which the children carry over to their own home-making. The notions which a child acquires regarding the place of a mother in the home and in the community do not come from explicit instruction; rarely indeed can they be influenced by such instruction. These notions come rather from the actual experiences the child has with mothers, particularly his own. Is she a self-effacing and devoted ministrant? Is she a versatile and helpful instrument at the command of father and children? Is she a victim of inconsiderateness and abuse? Does she conduct her administrative tasks as part of a fuller life, with never a suspicion of self-pity? Can she give as well as take, in conversation, in games, in excursions, perhaps in public life? Is she a manager who brings in as needed a host of expert services without being herself expert at anything? There are all kinds of mothers; and perhaps none can choose exactly the kind she would wish to be. But each of us carries about a more or less sharply defined picture of the ideal mother; and that is part of our educa-

tion for the kind of family that we shall ourselves some day attempt to build.

One by-product of our highly organized, urbanized type of living is the tendency for children and adults to live more and more in worlds apart. The few adults with whom the young child comes in contact—from an occasional maid or nursery school teacher to his mother—are those who are deliberately entering his domain in order to minister to his needs and his desires. In a single city block one morning, we counted twelve adults engaged respectively in “airing” twelve individual children. What picture of the joys and satisfactions of parenthood and adulthood will carry over into the later years of children who have become accustomed to this peculiarly exclusive kind of care? As compared to the home group of the traditional family, it leaves much to be desired. But since we cannot turn back, we must look forward to helping these mothers and children to achieve some sense of reality in their own terms. Nursery schools and other agencies have done much to make more satisfactory adjustment possible, but what kind of person the parent is remains a fundamental factor in the child’s future attitudes toward a family of his own.

PROBLEMS OF PARENTS

Can the parent be helped to become a better parent? The concrete situations and problems regarding which help is demanded include every aspect of individual and community living. There is the problem of authority, which is assumed to be essential for maintaining order and which is nevertheless flouted in the presence of the very children we are seeking to “discipline.” Whether we like it or not, the breakdown of ancient authorities in theology and in political life has made it increasingly difficult to main-

tain parental authority on the old basis. This raises a host of questions regarding modes of control that yet leave for the individual that independence of judgment and action that is so highly valued, at least nominally, in our present-day civilization.

Dealing with children in the home this calls for changed attitudes on the part of parents with respect to many of the common relationships. Parents can no longer insist upon implicit obedience as a cardinal virtue or as a goal of their training. They have to get children to follow their directions and guidance, not in terms of the old “because I said so,” but in terms of the child’s confidence that his interests are being well looked after, that the adult upon whom he depends is sympathetic and reliable, and that he is not being abused or exploited to serve the caprice or convenience of another. It is in large measure the parents that will determine whether the child comes out a coöperative yet critical participant in the affairs of his group or his age, or a rebellious and hostile enemy, or a calculating and ruthless master of men.

SEX EDUCATION

The attitudes that children are developing toward sex are also largely determined by the parents. The development of biological instruction in the high schools and the extension of nature study in the lower grades have made possible increasing amounts of matter-of-fact instruction regarding reproduction and sex. Schools find it practicable to have children look after birds or small mammals in their classrooms and to learn quite casually all the essential facts of parenthood on the animal level and to accept sex as a universal aspect of life. This instruction has been of great value to parents, for while such information is of course not an adequate consummation of sex

education, it does furnish a necessary foundation for the further discussion and the eventual understanding of the many questions that arise before maturity is reached. Indeed, the disadvantage has rather been that parents were too readily satisfied that the recognized difficulties had been solved by way of information.

Aside from any explicit information or warning or counsel that parents or teachers may give, there is the constant need for interpretation, and there is the persistent influencing of attitudes, as toward marriage, toward the mate, toward the family, and toward persons. Children cannot escape the actual conduct of their parents in the latter's unconscious yet unconcealed responses to the various aspects of sex as these constantly present themselves. How do parents meet the daily references to divorce or the causes of divorce? How do they laugh or scowl at half-veiled allusions to sexual irregularities? How do their voices change when a reference to sex comes into a conversation? Where do they whisper, where are they completely silent? It is becoming increasingly important that parents deal more consciously with these matters, not because sex is more important than ever, but first because we know better than ever before how ubiquitous and pervasive are the sources of confusion and perversion, and second, because we know how far it is possible through education to improve married life and mental health.

THE USE OF MONEY

Another important area of adjustment that is largely under the control of the home is that of attitudes toward the economic life. Children have been growing up for at least a generation, in the cities, with badly twisted notions regarding the sources, the uses, and the values of money. The token of ex-

change has become the goal of all effort; and the very convenient instrument for facilitating economic processes comes to be accepted as master.

Children have to be directly introduced to money and to get direct experience in spending, earning, saving, and giving, so that they may acquire a sense of relationship in every direction. The schools have made numerous efforts to meet the recognized needs. They have turned their arithmetic into an instrument for solving a multitude of problems that arise in the management of funds, from two pennies to the budgets of a nation. They have organized savings banks for practice in the routine of the simpler banking transactions and in thrift, although they have tried to teach thrift as a "habit" through repeated motions, as if it were possible or desirable to get such habit. They have done excellent work in teaching budget making and the keeping of accounts, both in connection with homemaking courses and otherwise. Unfortunately, the mass of teachers have had no training in economic principles, and the consumer's point of view, so fundamental for the family, has been rarely recognized outside the specific instruction in household marketing.

It is one thing to learn what one can buy for a dollar, and which of the many possible purchases is preferable. It is quite a different thing to learn what efforts and sacrifices it takes to yield a dollar. Neither of these can be learned through formal lessons, nor can the school supply the needed experience.

Since the parents control the family's money, they have to give the child an opportunity to gain this needed experience by using a portion of the income as an educational instrument in the hands of the child. The way in which money for this purpose is allotted and the attitudes of the parents to

money and to the allowance are integral parts of this education. Money has come so recently into everyday life that both teachers and parents find it difficult to take an objective view. Whatever is done by the school needs to be supplemented by the home, both through concrete experiences and through interpretation and application of what is learned more or less formally.

Parents can also take their older children more and more into their confidence, and have them participate more directly in the larger financial decisions and in the analysis of considerations involved. Why can we not have a car? Should we try to buy a house, or continue to pay rent? What is involved in installment buying? Is the mortgage the family skeleton, or is it a convenience? What is insurance? Hundreds of questions regarding which the mass of our population are rather hazy, are frequently raised in almost every family, and need clarification under conditions that make for a more wholesome attitude as well as for better understanding.

THE HOME AS INTERPRETER

The divergence of family patterns and ideals that young people are sure to meet brings to their parents the further problem of interpreting the strange and therefore incomprehensible behavior of others. Parents have to accept, and help their children to accept, the varieties of people and of customs as a normal and probably permanent part of the world in which they are living. They have to be confident that their own standards are worthy of support; but they should not be sufficiently confident to condemn others merely because the customs and ideals of those others are different from theirs. As in dealing with children and their mistakes, we may condemn disapproved deeds, but not the doers;

and we need in any case to direct our efforts toward understanding even disapproved deeds in terms other than "wickedness" or sin.

Throughout, there is constant need for helping boys and girls, even into early adulthood, to reconcile the conflicting assumptions, doctrines, desires, and practices that make adjustment difficult in every human relation. It is the continuous, mostly unconscious, daily experience in the home and as a member of the home that holds together like a warp the crossweaving of outside events and of exhortation and sermonizing of formal teaching and deliberately sought information and guidance.

PARENTS NEED EDUCATION

Educating *children* for family living thus inevitably raises the question of educating *parents* for family living. The successful work of schools in developing skills and in transmitting new information has to be encouraged and extended to reach more boys and girls; but it cannot complete the task. Moreover, there are the parents who have not had even what little might have been done for them by the schools. There is also the fact that attaining the status of parenthood raises problems that could not have been altogether anticipated. For these and other reasons we must expect that the education of parents *while on the job* is to be a continuous part of civilized living, incongruous as that may seem from the point of view of a stable, unconscious culture.

The existing activities in the field of parent education already indicate both a growing demand for such assistance and the feasibility of various procedures. Aside from printed matter in magazines, books, and pamphlets, there are lecture courses under a great variety of auspices, radio talks, discussion

and study groups, college extension courses, practical and demonstration courses in connection with nursery schools, individual consultations, home visitors, and counsel from a variety of specialists.

NEED FOR COÖPERATION

Much of the instruction for parents or prospective parents consists of specific directions for doing this, or how to do this; and the instruction very often comes from people who have not themselves had direct experience or practice in application. This is true even where competent physicians or nutrition specialists undertake to guide parents. The eating of spinach has become a notoriously difficult task. It is easy to recommend that the child be made to take a nap in the afternoon; but thousands of parents desperately cry out, "How do you do it?" In one case the distracted parent reported that she spent nearly the whole afternoon with a three-year-old boy, trying to make him go to sleep. When the child was exhausted and the room wrecked, sleep came at last; but it was so late that it was soon necessary to awaken the child for his supper.

Another domestic scene shows an able-bodied mother in violent conflict with an infant, trying to make him take the yolk of an egg with the aid of a spoon, as recommended by the physician. There is yolk all over the place, but none in the child's mouth. The mother, without so much reliance upon detailed directions, might have known that a yolk stirred into milk could slip down without any fuss. In other situations also, the help proffered fails to serve effectively, notwithstanding the best of intentions on all sides.

Parents and teachers must realize that what is learned in school or camp, for example, has to be applied at home under different circumstances. There

is no complete carrying over. Things learned in groups and under controlled conditions, however sound, may not always be specifically duplicated in the home. Teachers of various techniques in the professions usually recognize this and make allowances; but frequently the attitude of teachers in the homemaking subjects is to disparage the home because the latter cannot repeat the performances with the same precision as is attainable under controlled conditions.

The colleges and institutes in which attention has been given to home problems are increasingly developing modes of coöperating with the parents, beginning usually with the parents of the nursery school children. The high schools and eventually the lower schools will come also to develop coöperation with parents in terms of the less tangible objectives of education that affect home and family life. The effective coöperation of the school and the parents, however, presupposes community of ideals and purposes, and also common assumptions regarding human nature as manifested in children, and the methods by which it is guided in its development.

This means conference and consultation and discussion on a progressively higher level of mutual regard and common devotion. It means a recognition of the fact that teachers as well as parents have a good deal to learn. It means more frank and direct exchange of observation and experience—a more frequent visiting between homes and schools. And in a tentative, groping experiment here and there, it has meant an attempt to bring the parent into the classroom as well as the teacher into the home.

This, as Dr. Jesse Newlon has pointed out, does not mean the taking on of parent education as an adjunct to the academic program.

It would be tragic, of course, if the public

school should create a new department of parent education and staff it with pedagogues or school executives so imbued with the psychology of school keeping that they would attempt at once to formalize and conventionalize the work of parent teacher associations and child-study groups. On the other hand, I am firmly convinced that the time has come when a highly trained professional leadership must be made available in this field. Every school system of any size should have on its staff persons charged with the responsibility of studying the family in its relation to the education of children, specialists who can skillfully and informally foster the work of parent education, and similar groups.⁴

NEED FOR PERSPECTIVE

It should be possible for those engaged in noncommercial efforts in education to give closer consideration to the use and application that is being made of their teachings. Even department stores have learned to put the customer's point of view "behind the counter."

Those who believe the family to be of vital importance as a means of developing desirable kinds of personalities will bend their efforts toward making more attractive to young people, and more practicable, the establishment of homes. This is not a matter of "promoting" or "selling" marriage, nor of subsidizing it in any formal way. It is a question of presenting the details so that the entire picture is not distorted.

This point is illustrated by the recent publication of an article calculated to help a hypothetical mother of a toddler and an infant to manage her whole day more effectively. There is a careful analysis of the mother's "job," and a schedule of the time program—from the technical point of view, an excellent

and serviceable accomplishment. But from the point of view of the young woman who is interested in some day making a home of her own, this presentation is gruesome. The mother has every minute definitely allotted, from a quarter past six in the morning when the baby's bottle starts to heat, with only twenty minutes of respite after two o'clock in the afternoon: a nap then, but even that contingent upon the infant and the toddler both sleeping at the time. One girl who read this article shot out this significant comment: "If I went to sleep at two o'clock like that, I would fool them and not wake up again."

That there are difficulties in motherhood and fatherhood is indeed true, and the facts need to be clearly indicated. The choice for many is a bitter one. There is nevertheless more in family life than any formal job analysis can reveal. A more extensive and more comprehending study of cases in their entirety would reveal not only a multitude of compensations that the dry record fails to disclose, but it would also show the fluctuations and changes in the program that come normally with the passing of time. Nursing or wheeling the baby is a passing phase. A longer perspective shows a succession of phases, each of which has its hardships, but each of which also has in it the germs of something richer and more satisfying.

It becomes, then, increasingly necessary that the education of parents themselves and the education of younger people in anticipation of parenthood be in the hands of men and women who have a more comprehensive and intimate grasp of the entire process of family living.

THE HOME AS FOCUS

The rapid rearrangements of the various social and economic functions

⁴ Newlon, Jesse H., Professor of Education and Director of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, speech before the Conference of the National Council of Parent Education, Nov. 17, 1930.

and the shifting of forces that have characterized our civilization for the past two generations have brought into bolder relief the underlying significance of the family as a system of dynamic relationships that determine the growth and development of personalities. Even the most objective analysis has shown that the home has something distinctive and superlative to offer in the rearing of children into civilized adulthood.

Parents have become the residual legatees of accumulated personal values, which they expect to transmit undiminished. They cannot assume that a "good home" automatically takes care of itself as an educational

instrument; nor can they passively rely upon the other institutions automatically to do their respective shares of the joint task both appropriately and adequately. As responsible administrators of these values they will have to call upon many agencies to help to conserve and extend to succeeding generations whatever is significant in family life.

When men and women in sufficient numbers shall have been educated to family life—to a realization, that is, that human beings represent the supreme values in civilization—parents will demand that all institutions and agencies serve them and their children. Parents will assume a new leadership.

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Parent Education

By ERNEST R. GROVES

THE attention that is being given to problems of the family and to parenthood education in the United States would probably surprise and startle our colonial ancestors more than the airship and the radio. What is becoming axiomatic in our culture would have been incompatible with their entire philosophy of life. Indeed, the persistency and the growth of this interest in parent education have run counter to the prophecies of some of our contemporaries, who have looked upon it as a fad.

Its continuous development should have been expected, for it is triple-rooted. In it converge three characteristic American trends. One is the prevailing confidence in education which Wissler called the fundamental faith of America, another is our willingness to listen to science, and the third is our pain-enforced realization that life in the modern world requires new social adaptation. The last impresses itself upon present thinking through the confusion of the modern family and the great gulf existing between most parents and children. From the second issues an indictment of faulty and archaic parental policy, as well as the factual knowledge the parent needs for his task; and the first still remains the method of improvement in which we as a people have most hope. The perplexities of the parent, the value of the contribution coming from science, and our confidence in mass instruction give momentum to the parent-education movement in this country.

It is, of course, the conscientious and intelligent parents that see most clearly the need of specific training. It is the

educator, also, who holds unswervingly to an education that functions in happier living, that becomes convinced that parents equipped for their modern task with nothing more than faith in past traditions, socially menace their children. It is impressive that the highly selected group of mothers studied by Ruth Lindquist, all of whom were members of one of the two honorary societies of college home economics students, found the parenthood side of their responsibility their greatest anxiety, the largest cause of fatigue, the chief source of friction, and the problem for which they most sought help.¹

SOCIAL CHANGES MUST BE MET

Marriage and family experience cannot linger behind in a culture ever moving toward greater complexity, and maintain the complexion of yesterday as a thing apart from the rest of life; nor can adjustment in these relationships generally prosper without the full use of present resources. The new conditions are here, and sooner or later, whatever the parent's policy, the child must meet them. The former can resist, and often does, the social pressure toward adequate present-day adjustment; but the more he succeeds in his backward looking, the greater the difficulty of the child. No routine brought from previous experience serves the need of present family life. To attempt to follow former patterns of conduct denies to the child the preparation his adult life requires, while at the same time it robs the parent of the means of growth which alone can make

¹ Lindquist, Ruth, *The Family in the Present Social Order*, pp. 35 and 125.

him wise in his contact with the child who is passing through the stress of adaptation at various age levels and ever coming into sharper contact with a world in rapid transition.

It is true that parenthood is an art, and there is nothing on the horizon to suggest that it can ever be anything else. It is an art, however, that is shifting its base from tradition and automatic routine to science. For proper functioning, it requires insight even more than skill. The parent must draw his principles of conduct from some source. To attempt to go backward to practices of a different period enlarges his difficulty; and merely to interpret with no outside assistance his own experiences with his child, blinds him as to the real nature of his problem and starts him toward a program of concealment of his own weaknesses.

The child cannot be made a clinic or laboratory product. That is certain. No one ventures to suggest attempting to produce institutionalized children, manipulated by the specialist rather than allowed to live with normal human contacts. But if some sort of adult-child fellowship is included in the dreams even of those who look forward to the passing of the family, it does not follow that this contact, whether between parents and children or between state-appointed nurses and children, can be wisely divorced from the factual knowledge gathered by the specialist who has studied the child and the maladjustments commonly found in present-day American family life. The information we have is valuable, and whoever comes close to the child in his early years needs to make use of it, and for this there must be preparation.

INHERENT DIFFICULTIES OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

The spreading of the idea of parent education is not entirely due to the

strain of our transitional period. We have come to see that there are difficulties and dangers in the parent-child relationship that are independent of time and place, inherent in the association, even though they vary with social circumstances. The intimate contact of adult and child is deeply emotional. It is an expression of a human hunger that easily becomes excessive. Advantageous as it may be to both parent and child, it carries with it an inevitable risk. Its wholesomeness comes from its quality rather than its quantity, and the self-criticism necessary to keep it within bounds requires an objective attitude difficult for the parent even under the most favorable circumstances. A realization of this, either before or during parenthood responsibilities, helps immeasurably; but such assistance must come from insight rather than from warning or preaching.

There is an additional emotional problem for the conscientious and scrutinizing parent, since the difficulties that arise from the contact of adult and child are easily exaggerated, creating in the child self-consciousness and love of power, and in the parent a feeling of guilt which distorts the meaning of the experience. There is also constant danger of the mother's excessive interference with the child's expression of individuality, as well as of overmuch protection, due to fear.

It is clear that the rôle of the parent is as difficult and important as that of the teacher, and possibly one requiring greater self-control. Judgment has to be frequently passed, and each decision contributes something to the making of the child's personality. How easily the parent fails, recent science has discovered; and its findings are being increasingly popularized. It is unreasonable and emotionally cruel to ask the parent to function without any

specific instruction to give him the background which alone produces insight as specific problems constantly arise.

THE PARENTHOOD RÔLE

Parenthood responsibility is only one aspect of the many-sided activities of the mother and father, but it is as serious and complicated as any of the others, and often most needs preparation. In addition to the building up of a background of knowledge to clarify judgment, parent education makes known the sources of the various sorts of information that the parent needs to have as the child passes through the progressive stages of his development. At no point can the interpretation of problems become fixed, for wholesome parenthood can never be static. The child changes, and the parent must meet him differently. The necessity of this ever developing program needs to be enforced by instruction that persuades the parent of his temptation to fall into household dogmatism or the routine of habit.

To stress the value of didactic instruction is not the same as insisting that information is sufficient to meet well the problems of parenthood. As Frank has so well said, parent education can never wisely neglect the æsthetic, the emotional, the inspirational elements involved.² The parent-child relationship is a portion of life and must not be treated as if separated from the larger experience. The good parent requires skill, but technique alone does not suffice. The wise parent must have judgment, but even insight is not enough. The æsthetic or spiritual element must also receive justice. This is realized by the leaders in parent education, but their experience has warned them against the

danger that this aspect of the relationship may overcrowd the others and degenerate into a sentimentality which attempts the hopeless task of serving the child's life without understanding and good technique.

From the point of view of what it does, the parenthood rôle is as professional as that of the teacher. The fact that it is carried on more intermittently and distributed in a less formal way does not mean that it cannot be associated with a professional spirit or that it will not profit from preparatory instruction of as definite a character as that given, for example, to the nurse.

EDUCATION FOR FATHERS

It is not surprising that parenthood education has centered about the problems of the mother. She has been more conscious of her difficulties and more eager for assistance than the father. The part she plays in the life of the child is ordinarily more serious and more critical than that of the father. There is, however, increasing evidence that parenthood education cannot be concerned so exclusively with the mother. The father also has an important part in the bringing up of the child, and there can hardly be a more serious conflict between conscientious parents than when the mother seeks to follow the teaching of science while the father is insistent upon the traditional practices of his own parents. This difference between husband and wife, due to the better preparation of the one than of the other, has already become of concern to the leaders in parent education.

There is no reason why instruction should not be given fathers other than that this is contrary to tradition, just as, now that the significance of parenthood activities for the state are growing more and more definite, there is no

² Frank, Lawrence K., "Education for Home and Family Life," *Jour. of Home Economics*, pp. 213-222, March 1931.

reason other than lack of precedent, for our failure to require preparation of both the husband and the wife who contemplate parenthood. This is so unlike the present practices and attitudes that it seems far away and impractical; yet the trend toward it appears already to have started not only in the United States but in various other nations. Social advance grows ever more clearly dependent upon growth of character, and this in turn, as science demonstrates in great detail, is largely the result of what occurs in the early life of the child.

NECESSITY FOR EFFICIENT PARENTS

The issue seems likely to be between having better parents and turning to institutions of child care maintained by the state, conducted by persons especially trained for their responsibility as are now our teachers. In the United States the current flows toward the former, and nothing but a cultural earthquake will ever turn it in the opposite direction. A loss of confidence in the possibility of preparing for parenthood, or a widespread, parasitic demand from parents that they be relieved of their responsibilities rather than trained to accept them, would be likely, given time enough, to overturn our attitude and lead at least to experimenting with institutional child care.

The building of parenthood efficiency in the family concerns not only the child's welfare but also that of the adult. With an increasing leisure and with the indispensable values that can come only to the parent who enters fellowship with his child, we have every encouragement for attempting to meet parenthood problems in accord with American thought of family responsibility.

In spite of the attention given to parent education it is still a minority

idea, unfamiliar to many and unacceptable to others. One does not discount its present value by frankly admitting that it is still in process and to a very great extent experimental in character. It already meets occasional resistance from those who do realize its implications and the threat it brings to every form of social exploitation.

FUNCTIONS OF PARENT EDUCATION

The movement at present seems to be going forward along three different lines of activity. In part it is awakening parents and the general public to the need of specific instruction in various phases of family life. The interest of parents grows steadily, and among educators the idea of parent education meets with increasing response.

Parent education is also functioning as a means of helping those who are already parents to meet their problems. The work of such organizations as the American Child Study Association, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the state and college extension departments, through child-study classes, has not only developed with astonishing rapidity but has also in recent years become more serious in character. One of the best results of this interest has been a wide sale of useful books on parenthood and an ever increasing circulation of the periodicals devoted to parenthood and the family. Along with this distribution of information has gone a corresponding growth in the activities of child guidance clinics that not only has given a greater number of parents opportunity to get an objective analysis of their difficulties, but also has furnished to the movement itself the authority and restraint that comes from the investigations of the scientist.

The third and possibly the most important form of activity is the effort

that has been given to the preparation for future parenthood. This has taken several forms, each of which deserves a brief discussion. In this third endeavor we find the greatest significance of the parent-education movement. It is still largely in process, but enough has been gained from the pioneering undertaking to give its promoters confidence.

FORMAL INSTRUCTION OFFERED

The activities enlisted as a part of formal parent education are at present most impressive. Comparatively little has yet been done in the grade schools, but in the high schools, especially in the home economics departments, and particularly for girls, parenthood education has already obtained a position that deserves serious regard.³ The instruction given is often scattered, and even when concentrated in definite courses it is not always designated so as to emphasize its purpose as training for parenthood. Nearly always in these courses some attention is given to the immediate problems of youth, and rightly so, because the interpretation of these not only provides interest and helpfulness for the young people, but also leads to thought of home life in a way that prepares for personal family experience later.

There has been some interest, although slight, in offering the same opportunity to boys. Perhaps here the development will ultimately be rather along the line of mental hygiene including concrete attention to parenthood than in courses similar to those that are now being offered to girls.

Of course, the addition of these new courses is increasing the burden felt by the high school still clinging to traditional subjects such as geometry,

while at the same time attempting to find room for the new.

There is also the extremely critical problem of finding the right type of instructor for both the girl and the boy. Here is evident the folly of an administrative policy which throws out any woman who marries or any married woman who becomes a mother. Even though marriage does not by itself prepare an instructor to handle parenthood education, nor does the single life destroy one's efficiency in such courses, it is true that there are emotional handicaps both for the instructor and the student in some instances when an unmarried person discusses family relationship or the subject of parenthood.

In the college even more than in the high school, we now have definite courses in parent education. They are given under various titles, so that one cannot tell from college catalogue captions the amount of attention the subject receives. Both the sociological and the home economics departments are giving such instruction. It is also offered as a part of the courses in social hygiene and in mental hygiene, and occasionally in applied ethics. Sophisticated as the American youth appears, it is nevertheless true, as Popenoe says, that there is still a surprising and costly ignorance regarding both marriage and parenthood.⁴ Very recently there has been a most encouraging growth of interest among home economics teachers regarding marriage and family problems, and out of this is emerging attention to family relationships which is furnishing perhaps the most efficient instruction we now have in the field of parent education.

The most mischievous thing that can

³ As an example of this see "High School Courses in Child Care," *Jour. of Home Economics*, pp. 132-137, Feb. 1931.

⁴ Popenoe, Paul, "How Can Colleges Prepare Their Students for Marriage and Parenthood?" *Jour. of Home Economics*, pp. 174-175, March 1930.

happen is, of course, to have instruction in such courses fall into the hands of any one who has bitterness because of not having married, or who has built into her personality an antimarriage complex. On this account the selection of the instructor cannot wisely be made merely on the basis of professional training. Probably the most advantageous background for such instruction is furnished by the properly trained woman who is also a wife and mother.

PARENTHOOD TRAINING OUTSIDE OF SCHOOLS

Preparation for parenthood through class instruction is also developing through the extension departments of colleges and of state departments of education. The work of institutions such as the Universities of Cincinnati, Minnesota, Ohio, and Cornell illustrate the first, while the States of California, Oklahoma, and New York have already accomplished much in developing practical instruction for parenthood experiences.

There is at present in all the religious denominations in this country a marked interest in the idea of training for marriage and parenthood. This represents a recent swing from an attack by the churches upon tendencies interpreted as hostile to the family, to a realization that constructive work must be done by teaching rather than by denunciation. The activities that are now beginning to appear as an expression of this concern of the churches, call for the highest quality of spiritual statesmanship, since there will be a constant temptation to fall back upon dogma and to insist upon moralizing in the instruction, to the detriment of the giving of factual knowledge. No church can be criticized for emphasis of its position on family problems, but there is great need that this should

not replace the concrete instruction so much needed in dealing with home problems. In any case, this new appreciation of the value of parenthood preparation marks an epoch comparable only with the earlier development of religious education of children.

Parenthood education is also advancing through the development of community resources. Here at present the most pioneering of all the various forms of parent education may be found. The Institute of Family Relations, directed by Paul Popenoe, is perhaps the most impressive of these. The child guidance organizations, now taken as a matter of course, give assurance from a different point of attack that the development of the diagnostic method of treatment of family problems and of gathering scientific information is inevitable.

THE MARRIAGE ASPECT

Even parents themselves are somewhat responding to the idea of giving instruction to their children in preparation for family experience. The enormous interest taken by many mothers and some fathers in the subject of sex instruction for their children shows that the indifference of parents is not so great as has been thought, but that they have not felt qualified to do their part in the training for marriage and family life. It is being recognized that the family may furnish not only instruction but also attitudes that influence the child, and especially an example of happy adjustment which has a decisive influence upon the child, who in his early years gets a start toward happy or unhappy mating. On the other hand it is being realized that the matrimonial unrest and maladjustment now experienced by a considerable portion of our population is sure to show itself in a later suspicion of marriage and its ideals

among the children of such families.

The marriage aspect of family life is receiving at present less attention than it deserves. The distinction between the two for practical purposes is often arbitrary. There is need, however, of recognizing that marriage is at present more disturbed than is the family, and

that if definite instruction conserves the latter, it is even more needed in the preparation for matrimony. Here and there in colleges and in churches we have pioneering experiments in preparation for marriage that deserve the close attention and sympathy of all who are interested in parenthood education.

Mr. Ernest R. Groves is Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina. He has written numerous books on marriage, on the family, and, in collaboration with his wife, on childhood problems. He is also widely known as a lecturer on these subjects.

APPENDIX

Report of the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for the Year Ending December 31, 1931

GENERAL REPORT

During a year of so many economic difficulties as those experienced in 1931, it is gratifying to present a satisfactory report of the activities of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The year has been a good one. The meetings that have been held have been well attended and there has been great public interest in them, both at home and abroad. The attention given by the press of the country has been most gratifying and is to be explained by the fact that the topics of the meetings have been of so much public importance. The use of *THE ANNALS* throughout the country, both in public libraries and by members, is quite clearly on the increase. The large amount of correspondence received from those who are interested in the use of the authoritative material which we publish is a convincing evidence of the value of the work we are doing and of the contribution that we are making to national and international thought.

Last year, attention was called to the evidence in other countries of a growing appreciation of the Academy's work. In February, 1931, the *Revue Economique internationale* reprinted nine articles which had appeared in the May, 1930, issue of *THE ANNALS* entitled "The Second Industrial Revolution and Its Significance." The entire issue of the *Revue* was devoted to this reproduction, and a very gratify-

ing and complimentary introductory note, descriptive of the work of the Academy, prefaced the volume. Many other evidences of interest have been shown through correspondence and through personal contacts which the President had the privilege of making in Europe during the summer.

It will be recalled by members of the Academy that the Pacific Southwest Academy at Los Angeles is a center of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. It is gratifying to learn of the continued success of this center and of the very helpful and stimulating programs which are being held there from time to time. Its valuable contributions to the life of that region will, as the years pass, exercise a profound influence. It will be of interest to the members of the Academy to know that negotiations have just been completed for the establishment in Washington of another center of the Academy, the initiative in this establishment being taken by a group of distinguished men connected with the leading educational institutions of that city. Its first meeting will be held in the near future, and there is every reason to expect that this center will grow not only in numbers but in its influence on our national life. Its location in Washington gives it a peculiar opportunity for the study of the great international and world questions to which its attention will be devoted. The proposed title for this organization is

"The Academy of World Economics," and members of the American Academy residing in the District of Columbia will doubtless desire to become affiliated with it since membership in a center carries with it membership also in the parent organization.

Two very successful meetings were held in Philadelphia during the year 1931, each lasting two days. The Annual Meeting on April 17th and 18th was on the general subject, "Elements of an American Foreign Policy," and the addresses delivered at that time appeared as the July issue of *THE ANNALS*. On November 6th and 7th, a conference lasting two days was held on the subject, "Power and the Public." The January 1932 issue of *THE ANNALS* contains the addresses given at this meeting. It will be of interest to know that copies of this issue were sent to all members of Congress in Washington.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year 1931 the Academy published the following volumes:

January—The Coming of Industry to the South

March—The Insecurity of Industry

May (Part I)—Organized Commodity Markets

May (Part II)—Zoning in the United States

July—Elements of an American Foreign Policy

September—Prisons of Tomorrow

November—An Economic Survey of Australia

MEMBERSHIP

During the year 1931, the Academy enrolled 1,224 new members and subscriptions. With adjustments because of deaths, resignations, and other causes, the membership of the Academy on December 31, 1931, was 7,515 members and 1,880 subscriptions.

FINANCIAL CONDITION

The Treasurer's Report sets forth the receipts and expenditures for the Academy. As usual, the accounts were audited by E. P. Moxey and Company and a copy of their statement is appended.

During the year, friends contributed a total of \$2,855 to cover the expenses of holding the Annual Meeting. The Board wishes to take this opportunity to express its most hearty thanks to those who made these generous contributions.

CONCLUSION

There was never a time when there was greater need for such work as that which is being done by the Academy. These troubled days in social, political and economic life call for the most intelligent guidance that can be given. In a country such as ours leadership must be strengthened by an informed public opinion. The Academy occupies a unique and important place and its opportunities for service were never greater than they are at present. Evidence of this is to be found in the establishment of the two organizations mentioned which welcome the opportunity of becoming centers of the American Academy, and in the large number of suggestions that come to us for meetings to be sponsored by us. Our position as a forum for the discussion of important issues is a very gratifying one and the Board of Directors looks forward to a year of increased usefulness. It is not to be forgotten, however, that it is only through the continued good will and coöperation of its membership that the work of the Academy can be effectively carried on, and the Board takes this opportunity of soliciting a continuance of the cordial coöperation which has been so valuable in the past.

EDWARD P. MOXEY & Co.
1416-1418 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia

January 15th, 1932.

CHARLES J. RHOADS, JR., *Treasurer,*
American Academy of Political and Social
Science, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:

We herewith report that we have audited the books and accounts of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for its fiscal year ended *December 31, 1931.*

We have prepared and submit herewith Statement of Receipts and Disbursements during the above indicated period, together with Statement of Assets as at December 31, 1931.

The Receipts from all sources were verified by a comparison of the entries for same appearing in the Treasurer's Cash Book with the record of Bank Deposits and were found to be in accord therewith.

The Disbursements, as shown by the Cash Book, were supported by the proper vouchers in the form of cancelled paid checks or receipts for moneys expended.

These were examined by us and confirmed the correctness of the payments made.

The Investment Securities listed in the Statement of Assets were examined by us and were found to be correct and in accord with the books. By reference to the list of Securities Owned, it will be observed that the First Mortgage 6 per cent bonds of the Minnesota & Ontario Paper Company are in default on the April 1, 1931, and subsequent coupons. This company, we understand, is in the hands of receivers and no plan of reorganization has as yet been completed.

We have also prepared and submit herewith Statement showing the financial condition of the S. N. Patten Memorial Fund and the Edmund J. James Memorial Fund as of December 31, 1931, as well as the income derived from these fund investments.

As the result of our audit and examination, made in the manner as above indicated, we certify that the statements submitted herewith are true and correct.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) EDWARD P. MOXEY & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1931

Cash on Hand, January 1, 1931.....		\$8,398.63
<i>Receipts</i>		
Members' Dues.....	\$29,321.01	
Special Donations.....	2,855.00	
Subscriptions:		
Individuals.....	\$110.00	
Libraries.....	2,087.58	
Agents.....	7,123.02	9,320.60
Sales.....	5,587.36	
Interest on Investments and Bank Deposits.....	8,331.00	
Proceeds from Sale of Securities.....	12,699.25	
Advertising.....	696.00	
Gain from Maturity on Sale of Investments.....	657.86	69,518.08
		<hr/>
		\$77,916.71

Disbursements

Office Expense.....	\$6,217.52	
Philadelphia Meetings ..	5,898.18	
Publicity Expense.....	5,073.46	
Publication of THE ANNALS...	25,842.29	
Membership Records..	5,312.64	
Sale of THE ANNALS.....	1,497.29	
Interest on Securities Purchased .	86.94	
Securities Purchased	12,667.01	
Discounts and Collection and Exchange..	42.26	
Honorarium—Thorsten Sellin..	1,200.00	63,837.59
		<hr/>
Cash Balance, December 31, 1931.....		\$14,079.12

Represented by

Petty Cash Fund.....	\$400.00	
Cash in Treasurer's hands on deposit in Girard Trust Company.....	13,679.12	\$14,079.12
	<hr/>	

Book Department

REVIEWS:

CARMAN, HARRY J., and MCKEE, SAMUEL J. <i>A History of the United States.</i> Roy F. Nichols.....	244
COOKE, W. HENRY, and STICKNEY, EDITH P. (Eds.). <i>Readings in European International Relations Since 1879.</i> Harold R. Enslow.....	243
CRAWFORD, FINLA GOFF. <i>State Government.</i> S. Gale Lowrie.....	240
DAVY, GEORGES. <i>Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.</i> William Rex Crawford..	236
DUHAMEL, GEORGES. <i>America The Menace; Scenes from the Life of the Future.</i> Ernest Minor Patterson.....	239
ELMER, MANUEL CONRAD. <i>Family Adjustment and Social Change.</i> Ray H. Abrams.....	231
FORD, GEORGE B., RANDALL, A. B., and COX, LEONARD. <i>Building Height, Bulk and Form.</i> W. L. Pollard.....	233
GAMIO, MANUEL. <i>Mexican Immigration to the United States.</i> Constantine Panunzio.....	238
———. <i>The Mexican Immigrant.</i> Constantine Panunzio.....	238
GROVES, ERNEST R. <i>Sociology.</i> Oscar Wesley.....	236
HAGERTY, JAMES EDWARD. <i>The Training of Social Workers.</i> Chloe Owings...	233
HUTCHINSON, RUTH GILLETTE. <i>State-Administered Locally-Shared Taxes.</i> Charles P. White.....	241
KAHLE, MARGARETE. <i>Beziehungen weiblicher Fursorgezöglinge zur Familie (Beiheft 60, Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie).</i> William Rex Crawford.	232
LANGER, WILLIAM L. <i>European Alliances and Alignments 1871-1890.</i> William E. Lingelbach.....	245
LICHTENBERGER, J. P. <i>Divorce: A Social Interpretation.</i> Niles Carpenter....	228
LINDSEY, EDWARD. <i>The International Court.</i> Johannes Mattern.....	243
MACIVER, ROBERT M. <i>The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work.</i> Harold A. Phelps.....	234
———. <i>Society: Its Structure and Changes.</i> Howard Becker.....	235
MYERS, DENYS P. <i>The Reparation Settlement 1930.</i> Ernest Minor Patterson	242
NEUMANN, HENRY. <i>Lives in the Making.</i> William Rex Crawford.....	234
OBERHOLTZER, ELLIS PAXSON. <i>History of the United States Since the Civil War.</i> Roy F. Nichols.....	244
ORTH, SAMUEL PETER, and CUSHMAN, ROBERT EUGENE. <i>American National Government.</i> S. Gale Lowrie.....	240
OWINGS, CHLOE. <i>Studies in Parental Sex Education.</i> James H. S. Bossard....	231
PEPPER, GEORGE WHARTON. <i>Family Quarrels: The President, The Senate, The House.</i> Lane W. Lancaster.....	241
REUTER, EDWARD BYRON, and RUNNER, JESSIE RIDGWAY. <i>The Family.</i> Thomas D. Eliot.....	228
ROGERS, JAMES HARVEY. <i>America Weighs Her Gold.</i> Ernest Minor Patterson	242
ROGERS, MARIA LAMBIN. <i>A Contribution to the Theory and Practice of Parents Associations.</i> David K. Bruner.....	233
SCHACHT, HJALMAR. <i>The End of Reparations.</i> Ernest Minor Patterson.....	242
SCHMIEDELER, EDGAR (Ed.). <i>Readings on the Family.</i> John A. Ryan.....	230
SCHULTZ, WILLIAM J. <i>American Public Finance and Taxation.</i> H. R. Enslow.	240
SNEDDEN, DAVID. <i>Cultural Education and Common Sense.</i> J. H. Minnick...	234
SWANN, W. F. G. (and others). <i>Essays on Research in the Social Sciences.</i> Read Bain.....	237
TILLMAN, CARROLL. <i>How to Forecast a Bull Market.</i> C. Arthur Kulp.....	245

TÖNNIES, FERDINAND. <i>Einführung in die Soziologie.</i> Howard Becker	236
VIERKANDT, ALFRED, et al. (Eds.). <i>Handwörterbuch der Soziologie.</i> Howard Becker	237
WHITTEN, ROBERT, and ADAMS, THOMAS. <i>Neighborhoods of Small Homes.</i> W. L. Pollard	233
WILLIAMS, BENJAMIN H. <i>The United States and Disarmament.</i> Johannes Mattern	242
WOODBURY, DAVID O. <i>Communication.</i> Stuart Rice	237

LICHTENBERGER, J. P. *Divorce—A Social Interpretation.* Pp. xii, 472. New York and London: Whittlesey House, McGraw Hill Company, 1931. \$4.00.

The scholar will find this work helpful because it brings within the confines of a single volume a well-selected body of historical, juridical, anthropological, statistical, and psychological data concerning divorce. Particularly noteworthy is the historical and juridical material, since it contains a very able summarization—much of it from primary sources—of the development of social attitudes and legal enactments concerning divorce, from the Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Manu, through the ancient Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, and Irish codes, down to the Protestant Episcopal Commission of 1928, and the Nevada Divorce Statute of 1931.

In this latter connection, particular interest attaches to the tables (pp. 181–182) demonstrating the noncorrespondence between the number of grounds for which a divorce may be granted in any particular jurisdiction, and the divorce rate in that jurisdiction.

The general reader—more particularly the well-informed and serious reader who does not happen to have had specialized training in the field of sociology—will find this work of more than ordinary value, not only for the information it contains but also for the care and the cogency employed by the author in presenting the findings and the points of view of the trained scholar, on the so-called “divorce problem.” There is a tendency—far too widespread—amongst social scientists to take for granted the diffusion throughout all but the most unenlightened sections of the population, of the body of knowledge and the method of approach underlying their attitudes on this and other social

phenomena. This is an error into which Dr. Lichtenberger does not fall. Instead, he carefully analyzes the development of popular stereotypes and misapprehensions concerning divorce, and disposes of them with eminent fairness and temperateness, howbeit with complete candor and unequivocation.

The author’s discussion of the transition from the matter-of-fact attitude towards marriage and divorce as institutions representative of the social and economic requirements of the societies in which they are established, to the dogmatic-emotional attitude of modern times is particularly noteworthy. Incidentally, it constitutes a definite contribution to the literature of social change.

While in general agreement with the point of view taken by the author, the reviewer finds himself questioning, as too sweeping, the statement (pp. 16–17) that “divorce never broke up marriage.” The reviewer knows of cases in which the prospective ease or difficulty of divorce has in itself been a significant factor in the marriage relation.

NILES CARPENTER

University of Buffalo

REUTER, EDWARD BYRON, and RUNNER, JESSIE RIDGWAY. *The Family.* Pp. x, 615. New York: The McGraw Hill Book Company, 1931. \$4.00.

This volume of readings will find wide acceptance and usefulness among teachers in the field who are skeptical of the value of nineteenth-century forms and norms, if not of the values those forms and norms were supposed to support or conserve. The reviewing of such books should deal not with the text of the selections but with their editing for the purposes of the collection. Every reader or teacher would

doubtless wish that the editors of such symposia had made certain omissions or inclusions in the line of his needs or interests. In the present case, the lacks seem to be on the biological, historical and anthropological sides, again on the side of subjective and positive evaluations, and especially in the direction of proposed programs or conclusions as to the future forms and functions of family life.

The field of family social work and the most thoughtful exponents of its philosophy are practically ignored, if not contemned. Even if the book purported to portray only the editors' personal bias, a thorough covering of the field should not fail to recognize so important a constituency among those interested in the family, even if they were included merely to confute them. One suspects that people who prefer to believe that a traditional family is *ipso facto* an obsolescent and useless form are as emotionally conditioned as those who wish to preserve the golden age at all costs.

Believing that all theories are the rationalizations of wishes, the authors have perhaps tried to avoid or evade direct statement of their own premises and conclusions; but are these theories any exception to test their own general rule? According to Reuter, "The history of the family has not a suggestion to make, nor a ray of light to shed upon the modern situation." But, while unfortunate, it is also none the less true that, according to the history of the family, Reuter has not a suggestion to make nor a ray of light to shed upon the modern situation. To do so, one presumes, would be to transcend the functions of the pure sociologist. One questions, however, the full objectivity of the type of sociologist for whom reality is faced only when unhappiness or failure is found, and for whom any approach involving the realities of moral satisfaction or the sentiments is bias or illusion.

The reviewer does not feel that the editors show sufficient appreciation of the value of conformity (to whatever the prevailing norms) in satisfying the cravings for security or in relaxing their underlying tensions.

There is more than one questionable point in Runner's definition of the marriage

situation: Marriage characteristically includes a form or concept and a group sanction. One would also like to know what Reuter means by the "natural polygamous nature of human beings"; by his assumption that all women's home work is identical in interest, and inevitably denies personality; by his assumption that family support as a male obligation, and the cult of bodily purity, were new ideas introduced under industrialism, and that men are irrational or dishonest who believe that monogamous marriage under industrialism was satisfactory; by his apparent eugenic fundamentalism in accepting the selective value of infanticide, but resting all eugenic hopes on the abolition of monogamy. "Family disorganization is as desirable as it is inevitable." The above, like the following, is the sort of statement which will naturally be misunderstood.

The authors accept the doctrine that "sexual intimacy is . . . in no way different from other expressions of friendship. It is an expression of mutual affection and requires no other sanction." By their confession, this owes nothing to historical findings. Is it prophecy, the result of objective research, or preaching from personal or moral bias? The next paragraph seems to imply that ethical behavior is what *my* theory is inconsistent with, while moral conduct is what *your* old code prescribes.

One may well ask, how shall we know or test when and where the forms of family life have "caught up" with their alleged cultural "lag?" If Dell be right, and if the ideal family is already at hand, may it not be industry and the state which are lagging in their support—especially if, as is asserted, no institutional form can ever be anything better than obsolescent? This would lead to the startling conclusion that institutions are *per se* evidences of cultural lag, or perhaps that any attempt to define and sanction a culture complex is breaking ranks with cultural progress. But why should a pure sociologist admit any irritation over anything so natural as cultural lag? To paraphrase James Whitcomb Riley, "Lag on, O World!"

On the other hand, from the standpoint

of emancipation from complacency, illusion, and conformity, the most hopeful feature about the book is that it comes out of the State of Iowa. Elsewhere the reviewer himself has sharply attacked the dualistic and repressive psychology underlying the old morality, and has shown the need for research, experiment, and relaxed attitudes. But these are not enough to improve our future without an alert, sensitive appraisal of æsthetic values in the process.

"There is not, strictly speaking, any such thing as 'scientific' ethics. . . . To proclaim the ends of life . . . is not the business of science; it is the business of the mystic, the artist, and the poet." Superstition, however, is merely last year's mysticism. All the more reason for not barring mystics, fictionists, and poets from such a volume, not to mention the humorists. So long as values are living, they are real, and even the pure scientist cannot omit them from a configuration of the total situation.

In the chapter on "Points of View," several approaches are neglected or poorly presented. The psychological approach is reserved for a separate chapter which appears unexplainedly, later in the book, insufficiently geared to the main topic of the volume.

Among important selections not easily accessible, one is glad to find Knight's excellent paper on the companionate which launched this legitimate term, now so much distorted and abused. But since the companionate is by definition a variant form *distinct* from a true family, it is a bit strange to find it presented as the last work in a volume on *The Family*. The selections on the status of women are valuable but leave one unsatisfied. The old myth that *all* work has been eliminated from middle-class homes, and that their women are therefore idle parasites, is naïvely accepted without proof by current research. The home-keeper is, forsooth, called the "non-working mother!" Helen Glenn Tyson should have been represented here. And a word might be said for ectogenesis, as the only exodus, since the substitution of one woman's work for another's is hardly a solution of the "women problem."

Eleanor Roland Wembridge's analysis is especially unconvincing.

The catch-phrase "antagonistic coöperation" threatens to become as unnecessarily associated with the family as does the "unity of interacting personalities." Both phrases apply to many other group situations. The former appears in the selections from Cutler and Todd, yet Reuter attributes it to Keyserling! It should, of course, be credited to Sumner.

The book is marred by occasional errors in proof reading, especially in proper names.

Despite the above shortcomings, and despite the shortage of contributions from such people as Dell, Wolfe, Jennings, de Schweinitz, Woodhouse, Mayo, Tufts, Cabot, and Richmond, from the schools of Freud and of Boas, and from the field of social hygiene, this source book is the best now available for courses on the family in which case studies and supplementary readings are desired. It should prove an excellent team mate for Reed's *The Modern Family*. The editors have rendered a valuable service.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

Northwestern University

SCHMIEDELER, EDGAR (Ed.). *Readings on the Family*. Pp. xii, 525. New York: The Century Company, 1931. \$2.75.

This work is divided into three parts: Family Integration, Family Disintegration, and Family Reintegration. The first part includes four papers on the history of the family. There is a disturbing significance in the fact that the second part, dealing with the disintegration of the family, is the longest of the three. In the third part, we find directions and suggestions for the reintegration of the family from about every useful point of view. Preparation for Marriage, Qualifications of a Mate, Legal Safeguards of Marriage, Education, The College, The Church, Modern Family Resources, and The Home, are the general heads of the chapters in this part of the book, and most of them cover more than one paper. Two of the papers in the volume are Papal Encyclicals, those on Christian Marriage by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI. Nevertheless, twenty-four

of the forty-three papers were written by non-Catholics.

Practically every phase of the subject, every avenue of approach, every method of treatment, and every point of view are represented except those which are clearly destructive of the family, such as companionate marriage and birth control. The economic factors affecting the family, and particularly those which have contributed to its disintegration, are discussed in nine papers comprising nearly one hundred pages. It may well be doubted whether we have any other work in English which presents as much, as varied, and as valuable information as this volume. It contains a very comprehensive index.

JOHN A. RYAN

Catholic University of America

ELMER, MANUEL CONRAD. *Family Adjustment and Social Change*. Pp. vi. 400. New York: Ray Long and Richard Smith, Inc., 1932. \$3.00.

This work has been "prepared primarily as a text for the study of the family from the sociological approach." The author seeks to interpret the family as a societal force, as an agency of social control, and to explain trends in marriage and divorce and the various forces responsible for types of unadjusted families. He also furnishes formulæ for securing the necessary adjustments on the part of the parents and children.

Professor Elmer is an optimist. He claims that 80 per cent of American families are successful and better days are ahead. In picturing the ideal family he decries the suggestions for improvement offered by such selfish individuals as Ruth Reed, and laments the melancholy literature from the "group of prolific writers" who insist that these happy families are "fantastic dreams." In fact, Professor Elmer believes "the family is not being disorganized. We are just entering a period of social development, when the family is being reorganized on a more wonderful basis than ever before. . . . The family of tomorrow will be as much better as . . . the aëroplane is superior to the ox cart."

The author has brought together some excellent material related to the family

and has pointed out some of the sociological implications. But he has oversimplified the whole problem of adjustment, has furnished rather superficial analyses of the causes of present-day social behavior, and has minimized or failed to recognize the import of many of the forces at work in our changing civilization. He underestimates, for instance, the effect of the knowledge of birth control as the main cause for the decline of the birth rate, and never mentions it as a factor in the reduction in the rate of illegitimacy. In the causes of divorce, sexual incompatibility is generally regarded as a major cause, receives no consideration. His use of divorce statistics is also questionable.

RAY H. ABRAMS

University of Pennsylvania

OWINGS, CHLOE. *Studies in Parental Sex Education*. Paper I, A Social Hygiene Research Program; Paper II, A Community Service Program in Parental Sex Education; Paper III, A Research in Parental Sex Education; Paper IV, The Effectiveness of a Particular Program in Parental Sex Education. Pp. 14, 43, 289, 31. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Papers I and IV, 50 cents each. Paper III, \$1.00.

This series of studies is significant both because of the subject with which it deals and because of the method which is employed. Parental sex education represents the most recent emphasis in the field of social hygiene. Beginning as a moral reform movement, social hygiene subsequently included medical and legal measures. These were emphasized particularly during the war period. More recently, it has reached the stage where "it was recognized that in the educated individual behavior may be the result of a choice based on a knowledge of the elements involved and an intelligent understanding of them instead of a pure reaction to chance stimuli." The term "sex education" has come to be applied to this newest phase of the social hygiene movement. In view of the large and increasing amounts of money spent annually to deal with social situations which result from the ignorance, the mismanagement, or the antisocial use of the

inating urge, and the negligible amounts spent in educational work for the prevention of such situations, the importance of the present emphasis should be obvious.

The sex education movement, too, has undergone an evolution which has brought it to an interest in the efficacy of the methods used. One such method, new and unique, is that utilized by the Woman's Coöperative Alliance, consisting of personal interviews or home visits by workers called "parental advisers." The present inquiry is an effort to measure objectively the efficacy of this method.

Three related objectives are involved: (1) an analysis and interpretation of the materials accumulated in these house-to-house contacts; (2) a study of the methods now being used by the home visitors, to be followed by experimental use of improved materials and methods; and (3) the experimental conduct of a training school for parent advisers. The results are to be published in a series of eight papers, four of which are available to the present reviewer. Of these four, the first is a declaration of intent; the second, a summary of the general background; the third, a descriptive narrative of the material available; and the fourth, an analysis of certain aspects of the program.

Since the publications thus far available lead up to the results of the survey, critical comment must be withheld, save for certain observations regarding the fourth paper. The conclusions therein stated indicate "a persistent, though small, percentage favorable to the program," when compared with a control group; this with reference to the knowledge, the attitudes, and the practices of mothers concerning the sex problems of their children. Since the parent advisers were not formally trained, and the program developed on a trial-and-error basis, these results must be interpreted, of course, as the achievement of untrained teachers rather than the possible achievements of a program of sex education. Then, too, in this, as in many reports of research projects, the forest is invisible because of the trees. That is to say, conclusions are not set off and stated in summary form. Rather does one find them inadvertently and by implication.

These studies represent a joint undertaking of the University of Minnesota and the Women's Coöperative Alliance of Minneapolis. They are financed by a grant from the Bureau of Social Hygiene.

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD

University of Pennsylvania

KAHLE, MARGARETE. *Beziehungen weiblicher Fürsorgezöglinge zur Familie (Beiheft 60 zur Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie, herausgegeben von William Stern und Otto Lipmann)*. Pp. 188. Leipzig: Johann Amrosius Barth, 1931. RM. 10.

Fräulein Kahle's slender paper-bound volume is a study of two hundred girls committed to two institutions, and ranging in age from 14 to 21. In so far as there is a theoretical framework of reference for the study, it is the sociology of Scheler and von Wiese, and the social psychology of William Stern; it is definitely not psychoanalytic in approach. The author has had over five years' experience in institutional work and for the purpose of this study has acquired, either herself or with the aid of institution staffs, a large mass of material (case studies, court records, compositions, poems, and conversation) showing the attitudes of the girls and their families toward each other.

She presents first the home situations from which the girls come, then the influence of their adolescent period and of their life in the Home upon their relations to their families, and there is a final brief section, based on admittedly inadequate data, on the relation between their stay in the institution and the possibility of their founding good homes in the future. The book offers no study of a similar group of girls not in institutions, nor is any full length case study given. It must be admitted, however, that the hundreds of brief excerpts from expressions of the girls are used very effectively. The entire group is summarized in repeated tables based on the sort of homes from which they come or other significant factors in the situation.

If the conclusion that girls in an institution need fine personalities who can be substitute mothers to them is scarcely startling, the study is so well done that any

conclusion of the author would have to be accepted. We have nothing which so vividly presents the variety which lies back of the phrase "broken home"—nothing that impresses one so much with the seriousness of breaking up a home situation, in spite of the very great individual differences in response to the period of institutional training.

WILLIAM REX CRAWFORD
University of Pennsylvania

ROGERS, MARIA LAMBIN. *A Contribution to the Theory and Practice of Parents Associations*. Pp. 82. New York: United Parents Association of New York City, Inc., 1931. 50 cents.

The difficulties and the successes of the United Parents Association of New York City in bringing about a federation of autonomous local units of parents with a program narrowed to education in child training and school policy, in which the central staff act as advisers only, are analyzed in this pamphlet by an observer who was the Association's executive secretary from its beginning in 1925 until 1929. The study is a well-written and valuable contribution.

DAVID K. BRUNER
University of Pennsylvania

WHITTEN, ROBERT, and ADAMS, THOMAS. *Neighborhoods of Small Homes*. Pp. xvi, 205. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931.

This book and its companion volume, *Building Height, and Bulk and Form* by George B. Ford, should prove of great value to the real estate fraternity, appraisers, city planning consultants, and others interested in municipal affairs.

Many tables are given showing the necessity of small homes, and much data adduced proving that the attractive small home fills an economic want in the community and is a profitable investment for the owner who rents it.

Studies show improvements, costs, and community values, subdivision practices, housing costs, and other conclusions dealing with the economics of the problem of housing. A comparison of the small home in England and in the United States indicates

that this problem has received far greater attention there than it has here.

W. L. POLLARD
Los Angeles

FORD, GEORGE B. RANDALL, A.B., and COX, LEONARD. *Building Height, Bulk and Form*. Pp. xxviii, 188. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931.

In recent years, housing and zoning have formed a large part of the work of many municipal bodies. Independent studies have been made in many cities, but little effort has been directed toward compiling the results of such studies and thus reaching some general conclusions. This volume presents a semitechnical analysis of housing throughout the United States, showing the effect on single and multiple dwellings of traffic, light, air, sunlight, dust, gas, noise, exposure, obsolescence, and other related factors. Its graphs and diagrams dealing with apartment-house use, rentals, and occupancy are illuminating and should be of value to all persons interested in housing problems.

W. L. POLLARD
Los Angeles

HAGERTY, JAMES EDWARD. *The Training of Social Workers*. Pp. viii, 199. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931. \$2.50.

This book is made up largely of restatements of facts and findings other than those of the author himself, but his personal convictions and broad experience lend color to interpretations. The opening paragraph of the author's Preface explains why the book was written. He says: "The greatest freedom of discussion should attend the development of training in any field of human usefulness. This fact is the reason for the present volume on the 'Training of Social Workers.'"

It is typical of the entire book that ten questions are raised in this Preface, and instead of the direct and authoritative answers to all of them which one would expect as the subject materials of the book are developed, there is "the greatest freedom of discussion" on some of them.

The book is written not for the strictly lay person nor yet for the more serious student seeking exact documentation on

programs for the training of social workers. The presentation of material is that of *causeries* in which, in all good fellowship, philosophical considerations are interspersed with historical sketches, personal reminiscences, or bits of statistical and descriptive data and quoted material.

CHLOE OWINGS

University of Minnesota

MACIVER, ROBERT M. *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work*. Pp. viii, 110. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. \$2.00.

Ten or a dozen years ago when social work adopted the prefix "professional," it was charged with a primary lack of academic prestige. More by elimination than by any special qualifications of sociology, a connection began to be made with this subject. Upon this union there have been three points of view: (1) social work is applied sociology; (2) social work and sociology are utterly unrelated; (3) social work is an art and is connected with sociology as a science when both deal with the same processes.

The five lectures by Dr. MacIver which constitute this volume accept the last relationship and are concerned with *the* contribution of sociology. This limitation is made because an art is specialized in subject matter as well as in objectives. Objectives and ethical values are its special province; to them sociology is no more related than is any other science or philosophy of human relationships. Sociology is related first as a general orientating subject, and second, in its study of the social problems of interest to social work. In the final chapter the potential contributions of social work to sociology are discussed.

This book fulfills Porter Lee's prefatory statement, being a clear, concise analysis. With this beginning we may anticipate a further elaboration of specific contributions.

HAROLD A. PHELPS

University of Pittsburgh

SNEDDEN, DAVID. *Cultural Education and Common Sense*. Pp. xi, 324. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931. \$2.00.

The author develops the relationship of education and culture from the commonsense

viewpoint. He sets forth his conception of education and accepts the sociologist's meaning of culture. He then quotes extensively from well-known authors and comments on these quotations in the light of these conceptions. The fifth chapter, devoted to the "Problems of Advancing Culture in America," points out the need of the "understanding of the values to be desired, and of the conditions affecting our present American collective living," and then presents an analysis of cultural conditions in America. In the remainder of the book, the author discusses the relation of cultural educations to certain educational agencies and materials.

The book is well written. The approach is from the concrete. Discussions and illustrations take the place of formal definitions. There are numerous questions and suggestions which will create wholesome discussion. Some may disagree with the author but they doubtless will admit that he has been fair in his presentation. Sweeping, dogmatic statements are notably lacking.

All students of education will find this book helpful; it will be especially useful to the student of educational values, and it has much that will interest those responsible for school policies.

J. H. MINNICK

University of Pennsylvania

NEUMANN, HENRY. *Lives in the Making: Aims and Ways of Character Building*. Pp. xiii, 370. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1932. \$3.00.

Those who have a *penchant* for "helpful" and "inspiring" books will probably find their way to this volume without guidance; others may need to be warned not to condemn unread all books of a class, and to be assured that Mr. Neumann's volume is one of the best.

The author, who is leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture and author of several books on allied topics, has spared us many platitudes and much exaggeration, and given us a book that is, on the whole, sensible, well-informed, and moderately critical. As a cross-section of parental education, mental hygiene, and socialized education, it can make slight claim to

originality, and naturally falls into a strain of thin and impractical generalities.

In public health and other fields we are familiar with the modern trend to substitute positive and constructive aims for prevention, just as prevention was earlier substituted for curative action. There is no reason why we should be satisfied with the prevention of delinquency or the solution of behavior problems. Mr. Neumann asks us to aim higher, and suggests how nobler objects may be attained. The result is a book that should prove useful to many.

But there is no pleasing all parties in discussions of moral problems. Emancipated radicals will find little to approve, and liberals will find their ever puzzling question raised again—how can we reconcile our urge to make the world better with our enthusiasm for freedom? The reviewer notes with approval Mr. Neumann's critical attitude toward tedious moralizing and the pernicious use of texts as sources of lessons which have only tenuous verbal connections with the real meaning of the text, and his recommendation of the socialized recitation, and his suggestions for further reading. He has his doubts about certain traditional views expressed on the subject of women and mothers and about references to the moral rottenness of modern literature, and he cannot help remembering that anxiety to make the young good has sometimes distorted or hidden portions of the truth.

WILLIAM REX CRAWFORD

University of Pennsylvania

MACIVER, ROBERT M. *Society: Its Structure and Changes*. Pp. xvi, 569. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931. \$5.00.

This is an important book, in more ways than one.

First, it marks a growing catholicity and urbanity in American sociology. Although the writer minces no words in dealing with what he believes to be fundamental error, he states his case in a way that invites to discussion rather than to defiant self-defense. Moreover, the attention paid to European writers is more than casual and ancillary; references to Durkheim, Simmel, and Hobhouse are not mere displays of

undigested bibliographical learning, but organic outgrowths of thorough, intensive study of these and other writers *at first hand*. (Italicization should be unnecessary, but sad experience has taught the present reviewer that names may be bandied about with second- and third-hand labels, illegible if not erroneous, pasted on them.)

Second, sociology is presented as a special rather than a general, "synthetic," social science. The definition used is almost precisely the same as that used by Leopold von Wiese, the neo-Simmelian opponent of "sociological megalomania": "The subject matter of sociology is social relationships as such." Other American sociologists, notably Park and Burgess, have proclaimed their allegiance to Simmel's point of view, but MacIver seems closer to Simmel's original intent than any one else with whom the reviewer is familiar, with the possible exception of von Wiese.

Third, the problem of values and value-judgment is faced. Most American writers dodge it or obscure it in a haze of turgid rhetoric. MacIver follows Weber in asserting that sociology is an "understanding" science—that what human beings cherish or condemn and the reasons for their preferences and aversions are sociologically vital. In other words, our science inevitably deals with values; the subjectively intended meaning of social actions is the focus of the sociological lens. This does *not* mean, however, that the objectively valid meaning, the final rather than the functional value, the moral ultimate, is sociologically relevant, as Hayes and Ellwood, among others, mistakenly assume; MacIver correctly points out that "ultimate valuations . . . are beyond the reach of science" (p. 420) and that we "are not concerned here with moral ultimates, with what in any final sense *ought* to be or to be done" (p. 34). The sociologist inevitably deals with values, but he does not practice value-judgment. All this is clear enough in MacIver's book, but it is to be regretted that a few ambiguities of expression, particularly in the Preface, may lead the uncritical to assume that he champions the reformist cause in American sociology. As the above quotations indicate, he most certainly does not.

And so one might go on, enumerating the important features of the book—but space forbids. The flaws are of minor nature, and are not fundamental. True, the book will probably prove “too difficult” for extensive use as an elementary text, although a good teacher could achieve excellent results with it. Introductions incorporating a larger amount of simple factual material will probably hold the field, whereas the “Principles” course, now frequently based on Park and Burgess, Ross, and similar treatises, will grant a large place to MacIver.

Only one objection seems worth registering as such. It is unfortunate, in a way, that the effort to counteract the belligerence and the polemic absurdities of the extreme behaviorists should have drawn MacIver into a prefatory statement that is a little less poised and ironic than the book itself actually is. The best way to deal with dogmatic behaviorists is to ignore their antitheses and pseudo-dilemmas, and to “cultivate our garden.” Moreover, the moderate behaviorism of Mead, for example, has little or nothing in common with the extreme *Behaviorissimus* of Watson or Weiss. But the above objection is, after all, largely with regard to tactics; with reference to strictly scientific endeavor it does not apply. Every sociologist worthy of the name must read this book.

HOWARD BECKER

Smith College

TÖNNIES, FERDINAND. *Einführung in die Soziologie*. Pp. xx, 328. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1931. RM. 11.60.

This treatise is a simplification and an extension of the classic by the same author, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, first published in 1887. It is regrettable, in a way, that Tönnies has not seen fit to include more of his older work in the volume under review, and particularly, has not dealt more extensively with the concepts of instinctive will (*Wesenwille*) and arbitrary will (*Kürwille*); for recent studies making use of the concept of mental mobility could profit greatly by a simplification of these highly useful tools of analysis. As matters now stand, there is no doubt whatever that intensive study of the older treatise is an absolute necessity if the more recent one is

to be understood, in spite of the fact that the latter is supposed to be an introduction to sociology.

The reviewer feels that he must register his regret that the writer, now nearing his seventy-fifth year, has so long delayed the rounding out of his basic work; it is much to be feared that it is now too late.

HOWARD BECKER

Smith College

DAVY, GEORGES. *Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*. Pp. 305. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1931. 40 francs.

The author, who is honorary dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Dijon, and rector of the Academy of Rennes, has assembled five studies published in various journals between 1923 and 1930. The first, and the only one which has had an English publication, is concerned with French sociology from 1918 to 1925. In it Davy distinguishes four main schools: the traditional school of Comte and Durkheim, the Social Reform which derives from Le Play, Espinas' biological theories, and the psychological school represented by Tarde.

The other sections deal more at length but not very critically with: (1) Espinas, and the change his thought underwent as it became less exclusively biological; (2) Durkheim, as represented by his comparatively little known work on the family; (3) McDougall, especially his Group Mind; and (4) Lévy-Bruhl and his theory of a distinctive and predominantly pre-logical and mystical primitive mentality. Lévy-Bruhl finds much more complete acceptance with him than with most American anthropologists, and he is an ardent disciple of Durkheim.

WILLIAM REX CRAWFORD

University of Pennsylvania

GROVES, E. R. *Sociology*. Pp. 160. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1931. \$1.00.

This book is one of Lippincott's "The Hour Library" series, written for the general reader; however, the student will find it an excellent introduction to sociology.

In clear, simple language the author shows that sociology is the study of human experience and that the sociologist is "stimulated" by the geologist, the physi-

cist, the chemist and the biologist, although these do not furnish him his "method or technique," which "must be worked out from actual experience." He briefly discusses interaction, instinct, social heredity, culture, culture complex, cultural lag, invention, diffusion, social problems, and social progress. He shows how sociology lends practical assistance in the solution of social problems by emphasizing a broad understanding rather than by relying upon almsgiving, legislation, agitation, or any other one method. He believes that social progress has been made when objective measurements, applied to long periods of time, indicate "better resources," "greater social security," and an "increase of human satisfactions in social relations."

OSCAR WESLEY

Drexel Institute, Philadelphia

VIERKANDT, ALFRED, *et al.* (Eds.). *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie*. Third and fourth parts (these complete the work). Pp. 690 (total of 4 parts). Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1931. Vol. III, 16.20 RM.; Vol. IV, 18 RM. For the whole work, 69 RM. paper covers, 74 RM. bound.

The first two volumes of this encyclopedia of sociology have already been reviewed in *THE ANNALS* by the present writer. He said of them, "No college or university library can dispense with the work if any claims to extensive facilities for research are made." This is a fairly warm recommendation, but the last two volumes have so greatly exceeded the high promise of the first two that the sentence should be modified to read, "No college or university library can dispense with the work." Germany hereby demonstrates her right to contest with the United States for leadership in sociological thought. By comparison, France, Great Britain, and Italy are far behind.

HOWARD BECKER

Smith College

SWANN, W. F. G. (and others). *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*. Pp. viii, 194. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1931.

Nine leading authorities (W. F. G. Swann,

physics; W. C. Cook and K. N. Llewellyn, law; C. A. Beard, political science; J. M. Clark, economics; M. Bentley, psychology; A. M. Schlesinger, history; and W. F. Ogburn and W. I. Thomas, sociology) outline briefly some main problems of research in their fields. The essays are all more philosophical than technical. The Brookings staff probably profited more from the discussions that followed than from hearing the papers.

All the writers emphasize the necessity for observation of events others can see; all recognize the need for similar concepts to guide such observation. Some might object to that dangerous adjective "behavioristic," but all would probably call their approach realistic. Llewellyn's behavioristic conception of law was especially stimulating to the reviewer. Ogburn's discussion of the choice of research problems is also very valuable.

READ BAIN

Miami University

WOODBURY, DAVID O. *Communication*. Pp. 280. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1931. \$2.50.

This is a popular, fascinatingly written, but thoroughly documented and authentic summary of its subject. The treatment is somewhat limited in scope, however, in that it deals exclusively with aspects of communication at a distance. That is, it includes a compact history of the growth of such agencies as telegraph, cable, telephone, wireless, and mail services, of a "point to point" character; and such agencies of distant "mass impression" as radio and television. It omits attention to media of transportation which facilitate communication by bringing persons into contact, and such other agencies of mass impression as the newspaper and motion pictures.

Chapters I and II, giving the history of early devices for the transmission of messages, are of particular value in that they present data not otherwise assembled. Much of the material in other parts of the book parallels such popular treatments of science as Kaempffert's *Modern Wonder Workers*. Much of the text is in a conversational style, illustrations are numerous, and the author is generous with interest-

ing speculations upon the future. A brief but substantial Bibliography is appended. While not a scientific treatise, the work is a substantial contribution to popular knowledge concerning an important aspect of scientific development fundamental to conspicuous social change.

STUART A. RICE

University of Pennsylvania

GAMIO, MANUEL. *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. Pp. xvi, 262. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930. \$3.00.

This book presents and discusses some of the essential facts regarding Mexican immigration to the United States—the source, the volume, and the destination, the immigrant's background, and his economic, social, educational, and religious life in this country. The study was carried on during 1926 and 1927 by the author and his co-workers under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council.

Mexican immigration to the United States steadily increased from 1915 to 1929. By 1930, according to the census, there were in the United States nearly one and one-half million persons of Mexican birth or parentage. At first centered in the Southwest, they gradually penetrated the Middle West and even the East. They became important contributing factors to agricultural and industrial enterprises representing about five billion dollars; they became an important factor in the economic life of Mexico, since their remittances amounted to approximately \$5,000,000 a year (1919–1927); they became a social problem, particularly in the Southwest, where their dependency was pronounced; and they became a political issue, due to the agitation in and out of Congress for their restriction. Even now that this immigration is virtually suspended and large numbers are returning to Mexico (110,000 are reported to have returned in 1930), the question is still before the Nation.

The book is open to objection on the grounds that it gives too much attention to highly technical matters, as, for instance, the question of the accuracy of the migration's statistics; the author and his co-workers appear to have been strangers to

the whole problem; the method they employed is like that of a foreign visitor who makes a hurried visit to a country, investigates by the question-and-answer method, goes home, and writes a book; the method of discovering origin and distribution from a study of money orders is not altogether satisfactory; the translation presented in the chapter on "The Songs of the Immigrant" fails completely to seize upon or interpret the rich genius of the Mexican's *corridos*.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, this is the only comparatively adequate single volume on Mexican immigration to the United States which we have up to the moment. Those portions which deal with the backgrounds—a field in which Dr. Gamio is thoroughly conversant—are particularly valuable, rich with information, stimulating, and suggestive. These include the chapters on "Social Mobility" and "Immigration and the Revolution," and the Appendices dealing with illegal entries, race relations in New Mexico, folk lore, and the repatriated Mexican. Of fundamental value also are the author's suggestions regarding a permanent migration policy, which should look toward providing temporary rather than permanent migration.

CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

University of California
at Los Angeles

GAMIO, MANUEL. *The Mexican Immigrant*. Pp. ix, 288. Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 1931. \$3.00.

The best review of this book is contained in the introduction, written by Robert Redfield. Dr. Gamio, widely known among scholars for his excellent study *La Poblacion del Valle de Teotihuacan*, undertook, during 1926–1927, an investigation of Mexican immigration to the United States under a subvention from the Social Science Research Council. Dr. Gamio and his assistants subjected a number of Mexican immigrants to "guided interviews" in the following manner: They provided themselves with a "guide or classification of the most important mental and material typical characteristics of a series of individuals"; "established relations of confidence with

the immigrant and got him to speak spontaneously on matters that came naturally to him": and when the immigrant "found himself in a state of voluntary eloquence, the observation was completed by direct questioning." "As soon as the interviews were at an end we wrote down the results obtained." In this manner the materials were reduced into the "documents" which are presented in this book.

The materials are classified under eight general headings: The Mexican Leaves Home, First Contacts, The United States as a Base for Revolutionary Activity, The Economic Adjustment, Conflict and Race-Consciousness, The Leader and the Intellectual, Assimilation, and The Mexican American. Although there is matter of lively interest in these "documents," they do not seem, to this reviewer, authentic. They lack that simplicity, aloofness, and reticence so characteristic of the typical Mexican immigrant. In fact they cannot be looked upon as documents at all, but rather the projection of the investigators' points of view. Moreover, they are but tiny fragments of the life stories, gathered together in casual and hurried manner, and afford not even small glimpses into the intimate backgrounds, the migration experiences, the aims, and the mental reactions of the typical Mexican immigrant. On the other hand, the uniformity of these stories and their smoothness and easy continuity do not embody the temper and the experience of the Mexican immigrant.

Thus, both science and art have failed the investigators. Moreover, the generalizations implied in the chapter and subchapter titles form a questionable practice. The listing of the fragmentary experiences of two individuals under the caption "The United States as a Base of Revolutionary Activity" or under "Patriotism," and so forth, is a doubtful scientific procedure.

Criticism might also be respectfully directed toward the Social Science Research Council for supporting this type of investigation. The social sciences cannot afford any longer to follow such methods if they are to achieve the dignity of science. Such funds as are available for direct research

should be devoted to the establishment of laboratories which should be in direct and functional relationship with the people, the institutions, the processes, or the problems to be studied; in which studies should be conducted over long periods of time, as in the physical science laboratories, and where the primary concern should be to discover fundamental facts rather than to prepare materials for books or reports.

There are elements of interest in this book, and some of the generalizations may prove useful. Some of the documents are faithful portrayals of the experiences typical to the Mexican immigrant in the United States.

CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

University of California

DUHAMEL, GEORGES (CHARLES MINER THOMPSON, Translator). *America the Menace: Scenes from the Life of the Future*. Pp. xv, 217. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. \$2.00.

This is just another book about America, written in a clever way but containing for the most part the ordinary caustic observations about the United States. There are the usual references to prohibition, the "movies," the American language, American advertising, bathrooms, and standardization. It is largely superficial and some of it is even mildly annoying. To understand the United States is not easy, even for a native of the country steeped in its atmosphere; and we need the detached observations of the foreigner. But reiteration of criticisms that have little to recommend them but their facile cleverness, not only irritates the object of such comments but, by adding to misinformation about America in Europe, increases friction.

Out of justice to the French author it should be noted that the title does not accurately describe the contents of the volume. Moreover, the Preface is more thoughtful than the main text, and shows his realization that whatever of weakness or of strength comes from the United States is spreading to Europe and profoundly influencing it.

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON

University of Pennsylvania

ORTH, SAMUEL PETER, and CUSHMAN, ROBERT EUGENE. *American National Government*. Pp. ix, 766. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1931. \$3.50.

CRAWFORD, FINLA GOFF. *State Government*. Pp. x, 535. New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1931. \$3.50.

These two works are valuable additions to the literature descriptive of the organization and functions of the government of the United States of America. They are complementary so far as their subject matter is concerned, but they differ in style and manner of presentation.

American National Government was begun as an individual undertaking by Professor Orth, and the manuscript was well along toward completion at the time of his death nine years ago. The task of bringing the text to completion by the addition of five chapters to the seventeen already prepared, and of making necessary additions and revisions in the latter, was the task assumed by Professor Cushman. The reader will note with interest how well he has performed his task, not only with respect to the material he has added, but in skillfully conforming to the general method of treatment. In the chapters he has written, particularly those dealing with the Constitution and the courts, he is in familiar fields.

Before one has read far into the volume, he will discover that here is a work outstanding in style, in interpretation, and in balance. The subject matter covered, which, although prepared for university classes primarily, will be of interest to the general reader, includes chapters on the Constitution, the office of President, the cabinet, Congress, the courts, and the government of the territories. This book will go far to popularize the study of our Federal Government, not by making it simple but by showing our political system as a living institution. Selected readings are published at the conclusion of each chapter, and the text of the Constitution of the United States is included.

State Government presents a subject in many respects more difficult. Professor Crawford is not dealing with a single government but with forty-eight, as he suggests in the Preface. The difference in treatment that this requires is evident. Yet the work

is done well. The structure of State government is described and there are chapters on legislative and administrative control of local government and a chapter each on municipal and county government. Such functions as the control of public utilities, education, the regulation of business, the conservation of health, and the labor problem are treated in separate chapters. The book is full of information. It is accurate and up to date. There are copious footnotes as well as a well-organized Bibliography.

S. GALE LOWRIE

University of Cincinnati

SHULTZ, WILLIAM J. *American Public Finance and Taxation*. Pp. xxiii, 635. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1931. \$5.00.

Dr. Shultz was for some time connected with the National Industrial Conference Board. In writing this text he has had the advantage of the use of its files of research information, as well as those of the tax department of the Prentice-Hall Corporation. The result is a very factual product, at times almost a handbook, so that the author accomplishes his stated purpose. He includes somewhat more material than most other textbooks in the field, which fact has both its advantages and disadvantages. He is to be commended for the up-to-date-ness of the information he furnishes, as well as for giving considerable attention to the theory of taxation. With some of his conclusions the doctors may disagree; but, after all, one of the uses of a text is to serve as a point of departure for the professor by giving him something with which to differ.

A commendable feature is the inclusion of chapters on the Constitutional aspects of taxation, in which frequent reference is made to court decisions. This is gratifying to the reviewer, who feels that the study of public finance in the past has been perhaps too much in the realm of economics and not sufficiently in that of political science. This, however, has been the fault not so much of the economist as of the political scientist.

The book is arranged in a convenient number of chapters for purposes of assignment. Division into numerous sections

and the use of heavy type for "important" points make it very usable. The latter feature may possibly occasionally tempt the hurried undergraduate to omit reading all the details of the lesson, but lends itself readily to review. Fifteen tables, three charts, an index of case citations, and a general index are included. Footnotes are copiously employed and suggested readings are listed at the end of each chapter. Taken all in all, this effort certainly deserves consideration by those choosing a text in the field.

H. R. ENSLOW

Union College

HUTCHINSON, RUTH GILLETTE. *State-Administered Locally-Shared Taxes*. Pp. 157. New York: Columbia University Press. \$2.25.

One of the major problems in public finance is the disparity between functions and tax sources of the state and its local subdivisions. At one time "separation of sources," and in more recent years state aid or subventions for special services, were advanced as remedies. More radical tendencies are illustrated by the recent action in North Carolina whereby complete financial responsibility for schools and county roads was placed upon the state.

This study deals with a more moderate method—state collection or administration of certain taxes, and the return of part or all of the proceeds to local units. The chief findings are as follows:

(1) The number of taxes so administered and shared has increased from 17 prior to 1900 to 142 in 1929, the greatest increase coming between 1920 and 1925.

(2) In 1928, taxes returned amounted to 5.6 per cent of total local tax revenue, compared with .9 per cent in 1902.

(3) In 1928 the use of 61.2 per cent of such locally shared taxes was designated by the state.

(4) In 50 per cent of the cases the proceeds are returned to the units where collected, but 69.5 per cent of the total proceeds are reapportioned, due to the practice of reapportioning the more lucrative taxes.

Separate chapters are given to corporation, inheritance, motor transportation, forest, and severance taxes, with a brief

chapter on similar developments abroad. The author believes there is little justification for sharing the inheritance tax. For the others, it is suggested that the proceeds be pooled and returned "according to one criterion," based on needs of the local district, and that the returns should be a fixed amount to eliminate fluctuations due to changes in tax revenues. It is admitted that this plan would require a complicated formula, but no attempt is made to construct one. The failure, after years of experimenting in various states, to devise a satisfactory formula for distribution of school funds suggests the magnitude of the task and indicates that the rule-of-thumb methods now used will continue indefinitely.

The book contains a Bibliography and a detailed citation of statutes for tracing development of such taxes in each state.

C. P. WHITE

University of Tennessee

PEPPER, GEORGE WHARTON. *Family Quarrels: The President, The Senate, The House*. Pp. ix, 192. New York: Baker, Voorhis and Company, 1931. \$2.50.

This book consists of three lectures given by former Senator Pepper at the University of Virginia in 1930. Domestic peace in the American governmental household has frequently been disturbed by the Senate in performing its functions of ratifying treaties and confirming appointments, and by both houses of Congress in exercising their power to conduct inquiries looking towards legislation. Mr. Pepper's views on the subjects which he discusses seem to the reviewer to be on the whole justified by the evidence. The apparently "unpromising partnership" of the President and the Senate in treaty-making he finds has "abundantly justified itself." Even with the unexplored possibilities of *Myers v. United States*, one can scarcely disagree with him when he says: "While I adhere to the view that executive nominations should be rejected by the Senate only for reasons which everybody would agree to be sufficient, yet I venture to record a protest against any conception of the executive office which invests it with uncontrollable power." Congressional investigations he finds uncontrollable by any mere governmental machinery so far

evolved and subject only to such restraints as may be applied by the development of public standards of fair play.

The book is written with great lucidity and considerable grace of language and should be both interesting and valuable to those who wish a brief but trustworthy discussion of the important problems with which it deals.

LANE W. LANCASTER

University of Nebraska

WILLIAMS, BENJAMIN H. *The United States and Disarmament*. Pp. xi, 361. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931. \$3.50.

In his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Mahan has demonstrated the decisive influence of sea power in the race for national prosperity and dominance. Professor Williams proves that in many crises, sea power has failed its confident possessors. Washington's expression of faith in the French Navy as the power to "terminate the war" is shown to have been but a pious wish. For "instead of giving such aid, the French Navy scudded off . . . and did not come back." For the United States, disarmament signifies the abandonment of the desire to become sea-minded, created by the stirring of "the combat memories of the race" during the World War kept alive by "aggressively nationalistic groups" even after the restoration of peace. Professor Williams courageously defends the thesis that this desire should be abandoned as a menace to American investments abroad and as a hindrance to commercial expansion.

JOHANNES MATTERN

The Johns Hopkins University

MYERS, DENYS P. *The Reparation Settlement 1930*. Pp. xiii, 252. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1930. \$2.50.

SCHACHT, HJALMAR (GANNETT, LEWIS, Translator). *The End of Reparations*. Pp. 248. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931. \$3.00.

ROGERS, JAMES HARVEY. *America Weighs Her Gold*. Pp. xiii, 245. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. \$2.50.

These three volumes in combination furnish an interesting and valuable survey of

the present disturbed world scene. This review is being written just as the Advisory Committee on the Young Plan has published its report, and prior to the meeting of the proposed political conference to which this report will be referred. The report and the volumes under review present the Young Plan, Germany the great debtor, and the United States the great creditor.

Dr. Myers' volume is a factual study. Starting with the Spa agreement of 1920, the development of the problem is sketched, the meeting of the experts at Paris in 1929 is described, and then in successive chapters the main features of the Young Plan are set forth. Over one hundred pages are devoted to appendices in which are recorded the text of the Young Plan with a summary of the annexes, the leading documents connected with the Bank for International Settlements, and various agreements regarding intergovernmental indebtedness. The value of this collection in so convenient a form is very great.

Dr. Schacht's treatment is in sharp contrast. Smarting under his experiences since 1923, he writes with vigor. His volume is an attack upon the Allied Powers for the "immorality of the Versailles treaty," for the "crime" of invading the Ruhr, for the disposition of Upper Silesia, and for "bleeding Germany white" through reparation collections. But it is also a bitter arraignment of the political leadership of Germany, particularly for the alleged failure of the Government to support him and his associates during the conference at Paris in 1929. Even more, it is an indictment of the capitalist leadership of the world. One can almost fancy he is listening to Lenin or Trotsky—"Never was the incapacity of the economic leaders of the capitalistic world so glaringly demonstrated as today."

The events of 1931 strongly support even so fiery a denunciation of the Young Plan, and warrant the title of the volume, *The End of Reparations*. At the moment, an extension of the Hoover moratorium seems more than probable in spite of the attitude of the American Congress, and there are few expert observers who now believe that payments will ever be resumed. Those who wish a forceful presentation of the

German case by one who was for many critical years the President of the Reichsbank and is now a leader in the opposition to the moderate German Government, will find this volume worth while. Its value in this regard is so great that it is not important here to dwell upon some of its minor inconsistencies and weaknesses.

Walther Rathenau on more than one occasion referred to Germany as the end link of a chain related to the other links in but one direction, that of debtor. At the other end he saw the United States, with the opposite relationship, that of creditor. England, France, Belgium, Italy, and the rest were intermediate links and were both debtors and creditors. Professor Rogers, in *America Weighs Her Gold*, discusses the great creditor link in the chain. He frankly undertakes a simple and readable presentation of a topic that is usually presented in a dry and tedious form, and he succeeds admirably. Any one who has even an elementary interest in the subject can follow his discussion of gold, the international balance of payments, international debts, and the current business depression in its international aspects. He hopes to present later what he refers to as a "more finished presentation."

Perhaps the most important idea in the volume is that of the difficulty in breaking out of our vicious circle. With an interesting quotation from Henri Fabre anent the behavior of a group of pine caterpillars, Professor Rogers emphasizes the inertia of our business structure and of our mental processes. To break away from a vicious situation and establish new adjustments calls for greater adjustability than we seem to possess. Within narrow limits we secure better adaptations in our international economic life by fluctuations in gold movements, tourists' expenditures, and other items in the balance of payments; but they are inadequate. Thus far we are not ready to eliminate such obstacles as the intergovernment debts and excessive tariffs. Here and there the reviewer finds himself in disagreement, but only on minor points which need not be elaborated in so brief a review.

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON
University of Pennsylvania

LINDSEY, EDWARD. *The International Court*. Pp. xix, 347. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1931. \$3.75.

This is a useful contribution to the already large literature bent on allaying American suspicions of the League of Nations in general and the World Court in particular. The sections dealing with the Hague Conferences, the plan, the competence, the jurisdiction, the organization, the decisions, and the advisory opinions of the Court, and the Appendix are a matter-of-fact presentation of data available in more or less complete form in many other places.

The chapters on the rise of international law and the growth of international society are well done. In them the author gives implicit expression of his own faith in the cause. One hates to add that such expressions of faith are, from their very nature, uncritical.

In the Conclusion the author accepts the analogy of municipal courts and the International Court. Concerning the provisions of the Statute of the Court that a decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties, he points out that this "is true of the decision of the precise question at issue in any Court." In this connection both friend and opponent of the Court should welcome the author's demonstration of analogy with regard to the fact that in the World Court the parties to the question at issue can be represented by judges of their own nationality, and that any other member of the bench may by virtue of national affiliation be either strongly favorable or equally hostile to one of the parties and the party's cause.

JOHANNES MATTERN

The Johns Hopkins University

COOKE, W. HENRY, and STICKNEY, EDITH P. (Eds.). *Readings in European International Relations Since 1879*. Pp. xxxiv, 1060. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1931. \$4.00.

This latest offering in Harper's Historical Series makes a creditable effort to fill the long-felt need of a volume of readings to facilitate the teaching of the history and diplomacy of the period from the Congress of Berlin to the Summer of 1929. It is very inclusive, giving not only fundamental

diplomatic and official documents but also authoritative statements and comments and newspaper selections, so that it furnishes much material not available, or at least not conveniently available, for class use in most colleges or, indeed, universities.

One hundred and eighty-three main topics are listed, and for many of them several selections are given. The five main divisions are: Part I. Diplomatic Europe, 1879-1914; Part II. The Immediate Origins of the War, June-August, 1914; Part III. The War, 1914-1918; Part IV. The Settlement, 1917-1920; Part V. Reorientation. In the latter part some of the topics are: the organization and work of the League and the Court; mandates; the Washington Conference; the Dawes Report; the outlawry of war; the Italo-Vatican agreement; and the Young Plan.

Second only to the careful selection and editing of the items to be included in a book of readings, is the matter of introductory, explanatory paragraphs to link them together into a consistent, narrative whole. This the editors have handled in an acceptable manner. It seems that it would have been better to use a distinctive type to set these introductory paragraphs off from the text of the selections. All in all, the collection seems a very useful one. Under a skillful teacher it may very well occupy a large place in the plan of a course on the period.

HAROLD R. ENSLOW

Union College

CARMAN, HARRY J., and MCKEE, SAMUEL. *A History of the United States*. Vol. 1, 1492-1865. Pp. xii, 904. New York: D. C. Heath & Company, 1931. \$4.00.

Last year Professor Carman published the first volume of a *Social and Economic History of the United States*, dealing with the years 1500 to 1820. The book under review contains the material found in that volume somewhat reduced in size and divided into shorter chapters, with the addition of an account of the story down to 1865. This volume follows the same lines as the former, bringing into compass for classroom use much social and cultural history not hitherto available for such purpose. The main thread of interpretation,

which is socio-economic, does not omit the political but places it in its proper place as one of the many phases of American development.

This work sets a new standard for textbooks and gives college and university students a much more complete and vital knowledge of the variety of American effort and achievement. The book is very generously supplied with a number (48) of valuable charts and maps, and a very interesting and enlightening feature is the series of illustrations. A convenient and comprehensive book list is appended to each chapter.

ROY F. NICHOLS

University of Pennsylvania

OBERHOLTZER, ELLIS P. *A History of the United States Since the Civil War*. Volume IV: 1878-1888. Pp. 743. New York: Macmillan Company, 1931. \$5.25.

The plan and the method in the fourth volume are the same as those used in its predecessors. After a brief discussion of conditions accompanying recovery from the panic of 1873 come two long chapters on the Garfield and Arthur administrations and the election of 1884. Following a long digression on the Chinese problem, two other chapters deal exhaustively with three years of the first Cleveland administration. The two concluding chapters are devoted to conditions in the South and the West.

The political phases of this book are enriched by the use of the Sherman, Cleveland, and Chandler papers which have never been used in their entirety by one scholar before. These papers supply numerous details which are new, without changing the general outline of the story. The last two chapters are the most valuable, especially that dealing with the South. Here the author has made an extensive search for material, especially in Government reports, with very interesting results.

As is usual, in these volumes there is a minimum of interpretation and synthesis. The political story which is here developed is a depressing one. The more facts we learn about politics in the seventies and the eighties, the more we must face fraud, chicanery, and spoilsmanship of the worst

sort. But at the same time our economic development was increasingly tremendous, and it is to be hoped that in his next volume Dr. Oberholtzer will devote more space to this phase and give us the benefit of his great knowledge by expressing his opinions on the relations of politics and business in those active years before the turn of the century.

ROY F. NICHOLS

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LANGER, WILLIAM L. *European Alliances and Alignments*. Pp. ix, 509. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. \$5.00.

This is a work of exceptional significance to all students of the history of European international relations. In scholarly merit and finality it ranks with the author's *Franco-Russian Alliance* (1929) to which it is complementary. It is diplomatic history of the best sort, because it projects the activities of the diplomats upon the larger background of political and economic development, which in a last analysis must determine the direction of all important diplomatic effort. The book is the more timely because so much of what is being written today on the diplomatic history of the prewar period loses itself in a meticulous analysis of diplomatic notes and reports which can be properly interpreted only by a thorough knowledge of the economic and imperialistic ambitions of the powers concerned. Fortunately the author is familiar with these, and the book may be said to be extraordinarily well grounded. The treatment is objective and factual, the interest being sustained by an unusually logical presentation of facts and events.

In general, one is impressed with the extent to which purely European issues dominate the period. Even Bismarck, who, far more than other statesmen, sensed the impending changes toward the end of his career, nevertheless was "to the end primarily a Continental statesman" (p. 104). His policy to maintain the *status quo* by "a series of security pacts"; his persistent efforts to relieve the pressure on the German frontier by diverting the European powers into colonial fields; and the conflicting ambitions of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Great Britain in the Near

East are the main concern of the book. This naturally brings under review the readjustments after the Franco-Prussian War; the war scare of 1875 and the crisis of 1887; the Balkan problems; the Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin; the Triple Alliance; English occupation of Egypt; the growth of an intense nationalism in France and Russia; Bismarck's League of Peace, and "the end of the Bismarckian system." Colonial and naval rivalry and economic imperialism which occupied the stage of Europe in the decade immediately following do not yet appear as major issues.

Exception will be taken by some to the thesis that the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890 and the failure to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia mark "the end of the Bismarckian system." Since the author means by the system the underlying objectives of Bismarck and the policies he followed to obtain them, the reviewer is in complete accord with the statement. Following upon the Chancellor's dismissal and Emperor William II's refusal to renew the insurance treaty, Russia broke away from Germany's tutelage to form the alliance with France, while Germany struck out if not entirely on a new course (*Neue Kurs*) at least on one so lacking in clear-cut objectives and methods that it could no longer be regarded as the system of Bismarck.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

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TILLMAN, CARROLL. *How to Forecast a Bull Market*. Pp. 245. Boston: Economic Publications, Inc., 1931. \$5.00.

Here is another book about how to fraud the business cycle. An overcautious reviewer might reject it as mere advertising and be technically correct. So frequent and so adulatory are the references to the success of the author's private forecasting service and system, attested by excerpts from literally scores of letters and telegrams, that one should not be surprised to discover at the end the familiar "Do-it-now" special price subscription coupon. Nevertheless, though he brags about it a man may be a scientist, and he may have a contribution even if he peddles it.

Tillman's formula for buying and selling common stocks (he has only contempt for

other investments) is grounded on what he conceives to be an unchanging and natural relationship between the volume of physical production of goods and stock prices. As history this appears sound, and one even is inclined to accept Tillman's dictum that not only is man's consuming ability (reflected by production volume) not infinitely inflexible, but it fluctuates rather narrowly within fairly predictable limits. (Colonel Ayres' studies back to 1790 bear him out.) Even on the author's next step in logic, which he bases on records only to 1879, one can concur: The danger mark for business on the up-swing appears to come when production volume reaches or goes through $107\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of 100 or normal in the *Annalist* monthly index; on the down-swing the turn is indicated at 87. When the first happens, it is time to sell common stocks; when the second, to buy.

With so much we can heartily agree, but two stumbling blocks yet remain to confound the tightest economic history and the most intelligently cast formula. One is inherent in every attempt to see the future. The second is the bogey of the professional forecaster in particular. To take the first: History, especially economic history, may not repeat; and if it does not, making all the allowances you may, what of your system? Tillman has thought of this too, and decides to stake all on the permanence of the market-production relationship. As for the second, the temptation, the necessity even, of a commercial service is to try to call the turn more and more accurately, to confound one's competitors and critics, and so to sell more subscriptions. Hence, the general formula is restated specifically, to make it easier to read, to make it available for literally everybody with a dollar to invest. Here are the plain words of the golden rule: "Purchases in depression made within six months after 87 has been touched will always be within 15 per cent of the actual lows. Stocks sold within six months after the business index hits $107\frac{3}{4}$ will always be within 15 per cent of the top" (p. 99). This mechanical yardstick is given in spite of strictures elsewhere on the folly of trying to pick an exact time to buy or sell, and of statistics for example which show lags of as many as 10 months between

87 and the cycle bottom. And this is his downfall. For, following the system, when the production index went to 86.3 in July 1930, it touched off the signal to buy; in fact the Tillman Service published June 1931 as the absolute market low for the current cycle. Yet since this promised low we have experienced (up to December 1931) two more sinking spells of alarming pitch and speed, and the Standard Statistics industrial average is 30 points below the low levels of that month. Six months from July 1930 takes one only to January 1931; and with the most charitable wish in the world, one cannot read into price changes since then a decline of only 15 per cent.

It is an over-easy feat to sit back and wait for others, more bold, to make mistakes—a too common practice of the academician. What shall be concluded, in all helpfulness, on the spectacle of a "system" which would seem always to have worked, but which breaks down in an exceptional time? It is true that in bull times it is hard for optimists to make mistakes, and market services and systems flourish like Jonah's gourd. It is true likewise that looking back is safer as a guide of conduct for the past than for the future. At the same time, these *are* unusual days, and a mere pedant, if he had phrased Tillman's very conclusions in the usual tentative scholastic tone, would probably escape rather easily and live to patch up the whole embarrassing exception in a new edition. It is just here that the cocksure business prophet is hoist on his own petard. Economics is not yet a science, and books such as this are the evidence.

C. A. KULP

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INDEX TO SUBJECTS

- Advertising: as affecting money expenditure, 88, 91, 92.
- Agencies Dealing with Family Life: as affected by the economic depression, 135-143; birth-control clinics, 53-61, 127; child guidance clinics, 126, 155; children's agencies, 132; educational systems, 125, 126, 128; family courts, 133, 134, 156, 157; in Europe, 144; individual friends, 125, 182; legal aid, 133; mothers' aid, 131; public health service, 127; recreation agencies, 128; Red Cross, American, 130; relief societies, 130, 131, 138, 139; sectarian family agencies, 130, 139, 140. *See also* Marital Advisers; Parent Education.
- American Colonies: children in, 9; marriage practices in, 3, 4; Puritan influence in, 3, 7, 10, 11; sex practices in, 11; women in, 10.
- American Indians, concubinage of, 4.
- Behavior Patterns, 45-48, 69-71, 103-109.
- Bereavement: a family crisis, 184; case study, 188-190; family reactions to, 188-190; individual reactions to, 185-187, 189.
- Bibliographies: re birth control, 64; re family life among primitive peoples, 28.
- Birth Control: attitudes of churches toward, 61, 62; attitudes of medical profession toward, 63, 127, 154; clinical services, 53-61, 127, 153-155; entails added responsibility, 206; history of, 49-53; literature on, 63; scientific progress in, 64. *See also* Bibliographies; Legislation.
- Budget, *see* Income.
- Children: agencies dealing with, 126, 131-133; ancient treatment of, 2; as affected by divorce, 122, 123, 195, 196; as affected by economic depression, 141, 142; as affected by family relationships, 46-48, 67-71; as fulfilling family ideals, 72, 73; education in the home, 48, 174, 209-212; education through play, 48; in American colonies, 9; personal freedom of, 13-15; state care for, 219; status of, fixed by family relationship, 24-28, 66-68.
- Colonial Family, The, 3, 4, 7-12.
- Conferences: American Birth Control Conference, 53; Conference at Zurich 1930, 53; Congresses of World League for Sexual Reform, 53; Council of Trent, 115; International Neo-Malthusian Conferences, 53; re household employment, 175; White House Conference on Home Ownership, 90; World Population Conference, 53.
- Courtship: as affected by college life, 42-44; as affected by increased freedom of women, 42-44; as affected by mobility, 40-42; as affected by urbanization, 39, 40; functions of, 38.
- Cultural Change: as affecting courtship, 38-44; as affecting family life, 13-17, 89-91, 93-102, 168, 205, 210, 216, 217; as affecting marriage, 120; as affecting women, 75-82, 168; as affecting young people, 13, 14, 98, 99, 206; in family organization, 2-6, 12-22, 80-85.
- Delinquency, in relation to out-working of mothers, 83.
- Disintegration of the family, 71-74, 86.
- Divorce: and readjustment, 191-196; as affecting children, 122, 123, 195, 196; as legal regulation of parties to defunct marriages, 116, 123; attitude of the Church toward, 117; extent of, 20, 117, 118; fundamental causes for, 120, 178; legal causes for, 19, 118, 121; liberal policy in New England, 8; proposed Federal Amendment regarding, 119, 120; public opinion regarding, 111. *See also* Legislation.
- Economic Change, *see* Cultural Change.
- Education: a function of the home, 70; in American colonies, 9, 10; in money values, 211, 212; in sex, 210, 211, 221; of children for family life, 174, 205-215; of women, 10, 42, 168; of women, as affecting marriage, 81, 82, 202, 203. *See also* Parent Education.
- European Criticism of American Family, 13, 15-20.
- Family: as a social institution, 7-9, 45, 170; definitions of, 23, 29-31.
- Government Departments and Bureaus: Bureau of the Census, 29, 30; Extension Division of United States Department of Agriculture, 123; Federal Children's Bureau, 59, 115, 127, 132, 133, 138, 141, 156; Motion Picture Division of United States Department of Commerce, 105; Women's Bureau, 79.
- Health, Maternal, 154, 155.
- Historical Background, 1-22.
- Home and Homemaking: administration, 170, 171, 174; as affected by out-working of women, 83, 168; as affected by standards of living, 172; defined, 167, 168; economic aspects of, 169-171; functions of, 1, 27, 69, 70, 167; loss of functions, 12, 77, 97, 168; persons engaged in, 169, 174; processes of, 171, 172; survey of, 165-177. *See also* Household Employment.

Household Employment: as a problem, 165, 174, 175; as an industry, 166, 167, 175, 176; hours, 175, 176; in relation to family life, 166, 172, 174; research regarding, 175; selection of workers, 172; slavery, 9, 167; wages, 16, 175; working conditions, 16, 176. *See also* Home and Homemaking; Statistics.

Housing: changes in, 89, 90, 97; dispossess writs in Philadelphia, 93.

Immigration: sources of, 2-6.

Income: expenditure of, 86-93; inadequate, 78-84, 124; use of, causes family discord, 88-91, 124, 125.

Industrialization: as affecting family life, 13, 21, 77, 86, 87, 95, 96, 168; as affecting wage earners, 95, 96.

Inheritance, *see* Property.

Insurance, Social, 96, 176.

Labor Relationships, 167. *See also* Household Employment; Unemployment; Women—gainful occupation of.

Laws: uniformity needed, 118, 119. *See also* Legislation.

Legislation: Homestead Bill, 17; re birth control, 63, 64; re divorce, 110, 116-123; re marriage, 110-115, 117, 133; Sheppard-Towner Act, 127.

Marital Advisers: clinics, 54, 125, 148, 149, 153-156, 182; consultation bureaus, proposed, 160-162; domestic relations courts, 134, 156, 157; educators, 157-160; recourse to, 144, 146, 148, 149, 159; lawyers, 156; ministers and churches, 125, 147-152; physicians, 152-156; psychiatrists, 155; social case workers, 145-147; techniques of, 134, 145-153, 157-161, 182, 183.

Marriage: among American colonists, 3, 4, 8; among primitive peoples, 23, 24; as affected by out-working of women, 80-82; as affected by personal insecurity, 100, 101; as woman's goal, 168; attitude of the Church toward, 115, 117; common-law, 112, 114, 115; concepts formed in childhood, 181, 196, 221, 222; discord in, 100, 101, 120, 125, 178, 180, 191; economic need for, 1, 2, 8, 76; emotional dependency of partners, 193; guidance for, 144-164; means of escape from failure of, 121, 122; obligations involved in, 20, 179; of children, 114; of divorcees, 117, 118, 122, 194, 195; of Negro slaves, 11; preparation for, 144, 149-152, 199-203, 205-212, 221, 222; privileges involved in, 179. *See also* Legislation; Marital Advisers.

Migration: as affecting family life, 1, 3-6, 17, 18, 20.

Miscegenation, 4, 8.

Motion Pictures: as influencing behavior, 106-108.

Negroes: concubinage of, 4; marriage relations of, 11; slavery of, 8, 9, 11.

Newspapers: as influencing social attitudes, 105, 106.

Organizations: American Association of Public Welfare Officials, 131; American Association of Social Workers, 139; American Bar Association, 119; American Birth Control League, 53, 63, 127, 154; American Child Health Association, 127; American Home Economics Association, 119; American Social Hygiene Association, 145, 150, 154, 161, 162; Associated Charities (Cincinnati), 139; Association of Community Chests and Councils, 138, 139; Baltimore Bureau for Contraceptive Advice, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62; Birth Control Investigation Committee (England), 65; British Social Hygiene Council, 144; Bureau of Jewish Social Research, 139, 140;

Charity Organization Society, 145; Child Study Association of America, 219; Child Welfare League of America, 132; Cincinnati Academy of Medicine, 155; Cleveland Maternal Health Association, 58, 59, 60, 62; Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America, 145, 149, 150; Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, 143; Commonwealth Fund, 126; Congress of Parents and Teachers, 219; Craigie Foundation, 148; Daughters of the American Revolution, 119; Department of Statistics of Russell Sage Foundation, 130, 138; District of Columbia Committee on Employment, 143; Division of Medical Measures of American Social Hygiene Association, 142; Division on Family Relations of American Social Hygiene Association, 161; Duluth Family Welfare Society, 137;

Family Welfare Association of America, 129, 131, 136, 137, 140; Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 61; General Convention of American Jewish Rabbis, 61; General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 149; General Federation of Women's Clubs, 119; Institute of Euthenics, 126; Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles, 125, 158, 221; International Medical Group for the Investigation of Contraception (England), 64; International Union for the Scientific Investigation of Population Problems, 53; Jewish Charities (Chicago), 139; Jewish Social Service Association of New York City, 136; Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, 147; Jewish Welfare Society (Philadelphia), 139; Joint Committee on Unemployment Relief (New York State), 139;

Lambersh Conference, 61; Life Adjustment Center (Mount Pleasant Congregational Church, Washington, D. C.), 149; Louisville

- Family Service Organization, 143; Malthusian League, 52, 53, 54; Medical Council, 52; Mothers' Clinic (London), 54; Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., 105; Municipal Employment Bureau (New York City), 136; National Birth Control League, 53; National Committee on Employer-Employee Relationships in the Home, 175; National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, 63; National Committee on Maternal Health, 49, 64, 145, 153, 154, 155; National Committee on Mental Hygiene, 126; National Conference of Catholic Charities, 140; National Conference of Social Work, 140; National Council of Parent Education, 126; National Education Association, 142; National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 141, 142; National Probation Association, 133; National Recreation Association, 128; National Tuberculosis Association, 143; New England Divorce Reform League, 119; New York Academy of Medicine, 55, 63; New York Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, 55, 57, 64;
- Omaha Family Welfare Society, 137; Orange Bureau of Associated Charities, 136; Philadelphia Council on Household Occupations, 166; Philadelphia Family Society, 138; Philadelphia Housing Association, 93; Population Association of America, 53, 65; Public Health Nursing Association of Pittsburgh, 141; Red Cross, American, 130; Rosenwald Fund, 160, 162; Russell Sage Foundation, 111, 133, 141; St. Louis Provident Association, 135, 136; Saint Vincent de Paul Societies, 130, 140; Scranton Family Society, 135; Skin and Cancer Clinic (New York City), 142; Social Hygiene Society of the District of Columbia, 143; Social Service Federation of Toledo, 136;
- Various organizations for promoting birth control, 53; Voluntary Parenthood League, 127; Walworth Women's Welfare Centre, 54; Welfare Council of New York City, 139; Wheeling Associated Charities, 136; Women's Christian Temperance Union, 119; World League for Sexual Reform, 53; Yale Institute of Human Relations, 29; Young Men's Christian Association, 62, 157; Young Men's Hebrew Association, 157; Young Women's Christian Association, 78, 157; Young Women's Hebrew Association, 157.
- Parent-Child Relationships: as affected by personality problems, 72, 73, 101, 198, 199, 217; as affecting children, 209; as affecting parents, 214; emotional ties, 45-47, 71-74; inherent difficulties of, 217, 218; parental authority, 68, 69, 210.
- Parent Education: and the colleges, 197-204; demand for, 126, 127, 203, 212, 216; development of, 197, 201, 216; for fathers, 218, 219; functions of, 199-204, 208, 209, 219; means offered, 212-214, 219-222; resistance to, 219.
- Personality Adjustment: after bereavement, 185-187, 189; after divorce, 191-196; as affected by economic depression, 135, 137, 143; as influenced by family life, 45-48, 68-70, 72, 73, 170, 172, 215; maladjustment in marriage, 180, 181; of children of divorcees, 195, 196; of workers in the home, 172; to authority, 68-70; to social change, 99-101, 198.
- Polish Family Pattern, 5.
- Population: statistical analysis of families, 29-37. *See also* Birth Control; Statistics; Vital Statistics.
- Preliterate Peoples: family patterns, 23-28.
- Property: inheritance of, 2, 9, 10, 14, 15; of married women, 2, 16, 21.
- Religion: as influencing family life, 3, 4, 7, 9, 18; decline of, in family life, 18, 97; family pattern in, 67.
- Report of Board of Directors, American Academy, 223-226.
- Research: re effects of bereavement, 184, 185; re household employment, 175; re the family, 181, 182.
- Sex: adjustment of children, 70, 71; attitudes toward, 1; education in, 147, 210, 211, 221; maladjustment causes family discord, 125, 146, 147; practices, 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 192; readjustment after divorce, 192.
- Social Change, *see* Cultural Change.
- Social Values, *see* Standards, Social.
- Social Work and Workers: as affected by the economic depression, 135; client-worker relations, 163, 164; philosophies of, 137, 145, 163; untrained volunteers, 136, 137. *See also* Agencies Dealing with Family Life; Marital Advisers.
- Standard of Living: as affecting homemaking, 173; necessitating gainful occupation of women, 77-81; raised, 88-93.
- Standards, Social, inculcation of: through communications, 105-109; through family life, 47, 103, 211; through social institutions, 104.
- Statistics: of birth-control clinics, 55-62; of homemakers, 169; of household employees, 165, 166; of modern American families, 31-37. *See also* Vital Statistics.
- Unemployment: as affecting family life, 135-143.
- Urbanization: as affecting courtship, 39, 40.
- Vital Statistics, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62. *See also* Statistics.

Wealth: distribution, as affecting production and consumption, 88; produced in the home, 169, 170.

Women: as wives, 179; economic status, 2, 14, 77-81, 168; gainful occupation of, 10, 11, 13, 14, 42, 75-85; in American colonies, 4, 10, 11;

in the home, 167-171; legal status, 1, 2, 15, 16, 21; personal insecurity of, 91, 101; self-expression of, 75; social status, 1, 2, 10, 16, 42, 76; training for motherhood, 199-204; woman movement, 19-21. *See also* Education.

INDEX TO NAMES

- Abbott, Grace, 141
 Addams, Jane, 141, 142
 Aetius, 50
 Albertus Magnus, 50
 Alford, L. P., 87
 Allbutt, H. A., 52
 Allport, Gordon W., 188
 Anderson, Nels, 103
 Andrews, Benjamin R., 167, 170
 Aristotle, 50
 Astor, Mary, 107

 Bain, Read, 103
 Beam, Lura E., 64, 155
 Becker, Howard, 184, 185
 Bedford, Caroline, 135
 Benjamin, Paul L., 135, 143
 Bennett, De Robigne M., 51
 Berry, Gwendolyn Hughes, 78, 79, 83
 Besant, Annie, 52
 Blackwell, Henry, 20
 Boas, F., 28
 Bogue, Mary, 137, 138
 Boothe, Viva, 75, 85
 Bossard, James H. S., 131
 Bradway, John S., 133
 Bridgman, Ralph P., 144, 164
 Brooke, 111
 Brown, A. R. Radcliffe, 23
 Brown, Emily C., 78
 Brutus, 137
 Bryant, Louise Stevens, 49, 64, 145, 155
 Burgess, E. W., 180, 181
 Burn, 17

 Calhoun, Arthur Wallace, 7, 12, 15, 17
 Canfield, Dorothy, *see* Fisher, Dorothy Canfield
 Capper, Albert, 119
 Carlier, 17, 19, 20
 Carlile, Richard, 51
 Carpenter, Niles, 38, 44
 Carroll, John C., 106
 Chevalier, Michael, 13, 14, 18, 19
 Chute, Charles L., 134
 Clarke, Walter, 142
 Colcord, Joanna C., 124, 134
 Cooke, Frank Gaylord, 110
 Cooper, 57

 Dartmouth, Lord, 11
 Davis, K. B., 181
 Dawson, Lord, 64
 Dennett, Mary Ware, 63
 De Tocqueville, 15, 16, 17, 19
 Devine, Edward T., 169, 170

 Dexter, E. W., 125, 148
 Dexter, R. C., 125, 148
 Dickinson, Robert L., 49, 64, 144, 153, 155
 Dioscorides, 50
 Dix, Dorothy, 144
 Dixon, 17
 Drysdale, C. V., 54
 Drysdale, Charles R., 52
 Drysdale, George, 52
 Duffus, R. L., 139
 Durham, M. E., 28
 Dwight, Timothy, 20

 Eliot, Thomas D., 184, 190
 Ellis, Havelock, 64
 Ely, R. T., 17
 Euclid, 202
 Evans, Mercer G., 139

 Fairfax, Beatrice, 144
 Faneuil, Peter, 10
 Faris, Ellsworth, 103
 Farrer, Marjorie, 65
 Faust, J. W., 123
 Field, James A., 51
 Fisher, Dorothy Canfield, 203
 Flexner, Bernard, 157
 Foote, Edward Bliss, 51
 Foote, Edward Bond, 51
 Fortune, R. F., 23
 Frank, Lawrence K., 86, 94, 102, 218
 Friend, Mata Roman, 167, 168, 170

 Gage, Matilda, 21
 Galpin, C. J., 39
 Garbo, Greta, 108
 Gifford, E. W., 28
 Goldsmith, Samuel A., 139
 Goodsell, Willystine, 13, 22
 Graves, Mrs., 16, 19
 Groves, Ernest R., 216, 222
 Gruenberg, Benjamin C., 205, 215
 Gruenberg, Sidonie Matsner, 126, 205, 215
 Guizot, 8

 Haines, Blanche M., 128
 Hall, Fred S., 110, 111, 112, 115, 133, 188
 Hamilton, Alexander, 86, 87
 Hamilton, G. V., 181
 Hammurabi, 116
 Hankins, F. H., 51
 Harmon, Moses, 51
 Harrison, Jane, 184
 Hart, Bernard, 104
 Hart, H., 181

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 10
 Healy, William, 71
 Herskovits, Melville J., 104
 Heywood, Ezra, 51
 Hill, Frances L., 135
 Hill, Joseph A., 165
 Himes, Norman E., 49, 51, 55, 56, 58, 64, 65
 Himes, Vera C., 55
 Hinker, Beatrice, 77
 Hodson, William, 139
 Hohman, Helen Fisher, 51
 Howard, George Elliott, 110
 Hughes, Gwendolyn, *see* Berry

Ibn el Baithar, 50
 Ingersoll, Robert, 51

Johnson, Wendell F., 136
 Judd, C. H., 104

Kahn, Dorothy, 139
 Keats, John, 197
 Kent, Chancellor, 112, 113
 Kirkpatrick, Clifford, 178, 183
 Knowlton, Charles, 51, 52
 Kopp, Marie E., 64
 Krueger, 180
 Kyrk, Hazel, 169, 175

La Follette, Robert M., 139
 Lambert, 92
 Leech, Harper, 106
 Lenroot, K., 157
 Levy, David, 68
 Lichtenberger, J. P., 116, 123
 Lindbergh, Charles A., 104
 Lindsey, Benjamin B., 52
 Lindquist, Ruth, 208, 216
 Loeb, E., 28
 Lowie, R. H., 28
 Lundberg, George R., 103
 Luther, Martin, 3
 Lynd, Helen Merrell, 197, 204
 Lynd, Robert S., 86, 93

Malinowski, B., 23
 Malthus, Thomas Robert, 51, 127
 Manning, Caroline, 81
 Mansfield, Edward, 15, 16
 Marcus, Grace, 145
 Markey, John, 103
 Marshall, Alfred, 197
 May, Geoffrey, 111
 Mazur, Paul, 92
 McLean, Francis H., 140
 Mead, Margaret, 23, 28
 Meaker, Samuel R., 49, 64
 Meiklejohn, Alexander, 201
 Merrill, Laura A., 138
 Mill, John Stuart, 51

Miller, Nathan, 1, 6
 Mitchell, Wesley C., 91, 169
 Monroe, Day, 29, 30, 31, 33
 Moran, Lois, 107
 Morgan, L. H., 28
 Mowrer, Ernest R., 180, 181, 191, 196
 Murphy, J. Prentice, 131
 Murray, Mae, 106
 Myerson, Abraham, 169

Newlon, Jesse H., 213, 214
 Noyes, J. H., 51

Ogburn, W. F., 181
 Oppenheimer, Reuben, 157
 Oribasius, 50
 Ossoli, Margaret Fuller, 14
 Owen, Robert Dale, 51, 52

Parten, Mildred, 29, 37
 Pennypacker, Samuel, 119
 Pitt-Rivers, A. Lane Fox, 28
 Pius XI, 61
 Place, Francis, 51
 Plant, James S., 66, 74
 Plato, 202
 Pliny, 50
 Popenoe, Paul, 54, 220, 221
 Rattray, R. S., 28
 Reid, Margaret, 169
 Richmond, Mary E., 111, 115, 129, 188
 Robinson, Caroline H., 54, 55, 57, 63, 64, 155
 Robinson, Virginia P., 146
 Roelofs, Henrietta, 167
 Rogers, Buddy, 108
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 119
 Rugg, Harold, 204

Sanger, Margaret, 53, 55, 63
 Schaff, Philip, 18
 Schwartz, Louis A., 45, 48
 Shand, A. F. S., 185
 Snow, W. F., 145
 Soranus, 50
 Spencer, Anna Garlin, 161
 Spencer, Herbert, 197
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 173
 Stone, Hannah, 53
 Stone, Lucy, 20
 Stopes, Marie C., 54

Taussig, Frederick J., 49, 64
 Thomas, W. I., 5
 Tippy, Worth L., 145
 Trollope, Mrs., 18
 Truelove, Edward, 52
 Truesdell, Leon E., 29
 Tucker, Katherine, 142

Valentino, Rudolf, 106

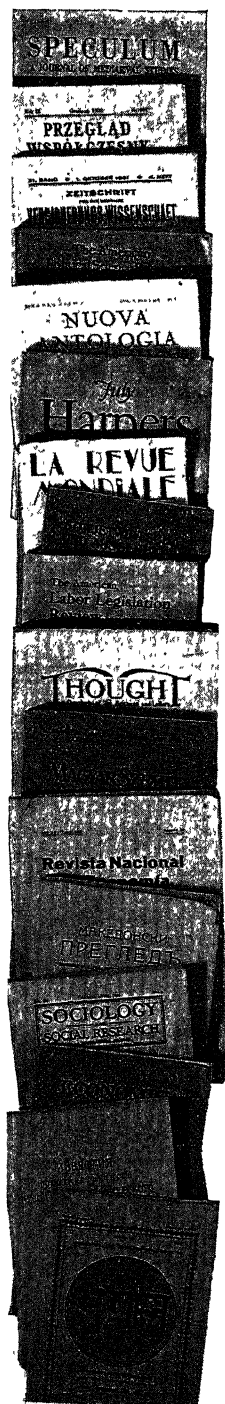
Vernier, Chester G., 111
Vincent, E. Leona, 208
Voge, Cecil, 49, 64
Vreeland, F. M., 51

Waite, Florence, 137
Waller, Willard, 191
Wallis, W. D., 109
Watson, Amey E., 165, 173, 177
Watson, John B., 199
Webb, Sidney, 88, 203
Weeden, 11
West, Walter, 139

Westermarck, E., 28
Whitehead, 202
Wieser, von, 88
Willey, Malcolm M., 103, 104, 109
Wilson, 21
Winthrop, John, 10
Wissler, Clark, 216
Woodbury, 58
Woodhouse, Chase Going, 168

Young, Kimball, 103

Znaniecki, Florian, 5, 103



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